DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 351 926 HE 025 984

AUTHOR Chinapah, Vinayagum, Ed.
TITLE Evaluation of Higher Education in a Changing Europe. Report from the UNESCO Seminar on the Evaluation of Higher Education in a Changing Europe (Stockholm, Sweden, May 1990).
INSTITUTION Stockholm Univ. (Sweden). Inst. of International Education.; Swedish National Commission for Unesco, Stockholm.
PUB DATE 92
NOTE 134p.
AVAILABLE FROM Swedish National Commission for UNESCO, Ministry of Education & Science, S-103 33 Stockholm, Sweden (free).
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Curriculum Evaluation; *Educational Change; Educational Trends; Evaluation Criteria; *Evaluation Methods; Faculty Evaluation; Foreign Countries; Futures (of Society); *Higher Education; *Institutional Evaluation; *Outcomes of Education
IDENTIFIERS Bulgaria; Denmark; Europe (East); European Universities; Finland; Germany; Norway; Sweden; USSR

ABSTRACT

This publication presents speeches, papers and discussion from a seminar on higher education in Europe. particularly in the Nordic counties of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland, as well as Eastern European countries. Following an introduction the opening speech by Alexander Sannikov, the UNESCO Secretariat, is reproduced. Part I contains papers and comments on the evaluation of higher education in the four Nordic countries. The first, on Denmark, identifies three periods or eras since 1945 characterized by the doldrums, student activism, and professionalism, respectively. The second paper, on Finland, discusses forms of evaluation and development since 1960. It proposes a concept of development centers. The paper on evaluation of higher education in Norway reviews government initiative and the problems of management and evaluation. It notes the low productivity level of this particular system. The chapter on Sweden considers various types of evaluation and describes the Swedish system. Part II contains three shorter studies on Eastern Europe, one on Bulgaria, one on Germany and a third on the Soviet Republics. Where comments on papers were received, they are included in the publication. Most papers offer extensive references. (JB)

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Evaluation of Higher Education in a Changing Europe

Report from the Unesco seminar on the Evaluation of Higher Education in a Changing Europe Stockholm, May 1990

Edited by

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The authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this book and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco nor of the Institute of International Education.

This volume has been typeset at the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University

Swedish governments printing
Stockholm 1992

Foreword

In a rapidly changing Europe, evaluation in higher education has become a critical issue for academics, administrators and politicians. The immense expansion of higher education systems, increasing financial constraints in the public sector, demand for accountability, and a general tendency towards decentralization are factors behind the demands for evaluation. The four Nordic countries, following a model of regional and social planning for a welfare state, have experiences in evaluation of higher education that can be of interest for other countries. When Mr. Alexander Sannikov of Unesco asked me about the possibilities of organizing a seminar on this theme in Stockholm I found the idea of great importance. Thanks to positive responses from scholars in the Nordic countries and invited guests it was possible to arrange the seminar in May 1990. The Swedish National Commission for Unesco through Ms. Birgitta Ulvhammar, the Swedish National Board of Universities and Colleges through Ms. Marianne Bauer and the Unesco Headquarters provided the necessary financial support. My secretary Ms. Kristina Rayon helped me with the logistics of the seminar and Professor Vinayagum Chinapah was of valuable help in organizing the meeting and also edited the report. I would like to thank Mr. Alexander Sannikov for his strong support before, during and after the meeting. The printing of this book was financed by the Swedish National Commission for Unesco, and here I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Anders Falk from the Unesco Commission for his cooperation in bringing this report to print.

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Table of Contents

	Page
Foreword	v
Contents	vii
Editorial Note	ix
Opening Speech - Alexander Sannikov	1
Summary - Vinayagum Chinapah	5

Part One
Evaluation of Higher Education in the Nordic Countries

Evaluation of Higher Education in Denmark - Helge Dohn	13
Evaluation of Higher Education in Finland - Osmo Kivinen & Risto Rinne	25
Comments - Paul Bélanger	41
Evaluation of Higher Education in Norway - Arild Tjeldvoll	43
Comments - Robert Cowen	57

Evaluation of Higher Education in Sweden 73
- Urban Dahllöf

Comments 93
- Guy Neave

Comments 99
- Vinayagum Chinapah

Part Two
Higher Education in Eastern Europe: Recent Appraisals

Assessment and Problems of Higher Education in the Light of Changing Bulgaria 107
- Christo Christov

The Reform of the Management, Organization and Administration of Higher Education in Germany (GDR) 111
- Volker Deregowski

Higher Education in the USSR: The Stage of Cardinal Transformations 119
- Valery N. Afanassiev

Bibliography 125

Appendix I. List of Participants 131

Editorial Note

This report consists of contributions from various scholars throughout Europe who participated in the Unesco Seminar on Higher Education in a Changing Europe held in Stockholm, May 21-23, 1990. These contributions were presented in different forms, i.e. papers, oral and written comments as well as speeches. In Part One, the major papers from the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) as well as the comments to these papers are presented. These papers and comments are revised with few editorial changes. In Part Two, the remaining contributions at the Seminar from Eastern Europe are presented. These contributions had to be summarized with revisions where necessary.

In editing this report, I work under the assumption that the report will be used as an important background document for further Unesco Seminars on Educational Evaluation in different regions of the world. I also hope that it will be widely disseminated to different people involved in educational evaluation.

I want to thank all the contributors to the Unesco Seminar for making their presentations available to the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University and to the Unesco Secretariat, in Paris. Without the efforts of Professor Ingemar Fägerlind, Director of the Institute in Stockholm, it would not have been possible to finalize this work.

I express my deepest thanks and gratitude to Mr. Alexander Sannikov of the Unesco Secretariat for his continuous advice and inputs in finalizing this report. Finally, let me thank all those students who in different capacities assisted me in this work.

Vinayagum Chinapah

OPENING SPEECH

Alexander Sannikov
Unesco Secretariat

The theme of this Seminar is the *Evaluation of Higher Education in a Changing Europe*. No one would contest that Europe is experiencing an exceptional period characterized by dynamic changes within Eastern European countries and an increasing economic, social and political integration in Western Europe.

Many people compare the present situation to the post-war period when the previously existing mechanisms were to a great extent reshaped. Europe is again entering a period of reshaping which is promising but contains inherent risks, and Unesco, which was born in the post-war period when intellectuals recognized the necessity of promoting peace through education, science and culture, has an increasingly important role to play.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Fourth Conference of European Ministers of Education and in pursuance of a resolution on European cooperation in the field of education adopted at its 25th General Conference, Unesco is elaborating a new Europe Region educational cooperation programme. Recently consultation was held to discuss provisional ideas concerning the creation of a University of the Peoples of Europe.

Concerning Unesco's role in developing European cooperation in education, we do not lose sight of the risk of overlapping activities of the European regional organizations working in this field, such as the Council of Europe, the European Community, the Nordic

Council and others, and will continue to develop mutually advantageous cooperation with them.

As an international intergovernmental organization having worked for many years in the West and in the East, in the North and in the South, Unesco can provide exceptional opportunities which could easily be seized by the interested parties.

The complex process of change taking place in European higher education systems includes educational differentiation, and profound curricula changes, ensuring continuing education and equality of opportunities, close cooperation with industry, widening utilization of new information technologies, increased attention to questions of evaluation, assessment and monitoring, etc.

An interesting discussion is taking place concerning the role of higher education in developing European Community integration. One of the conclusions of this ongoing discussion is that after 1992, the Community will not be a "fortress" Europe but an "open" Europe, and that the diversity of higher education systems is not an obstacle but a richness.

The European Community has given rise to many programmes of cooperation in the sphere of higher education such as ERASMUS, COMETT and a number of others. Quite recently, new European initiatives such as "TEMPUS" (Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies), which will be called upon to provide assistance to Eastern and Central European countries in the field of university cooperation and vocational training, and the European Training Foundation (E.T.F.) have been proposed, the main objective of the latter is to contribute to the adaptation of training systems in Poland and Hungary to the new market conditions.

There is an increasing consciousness of the common cultural and academic heritage of all European countries. The political wall between the East and the West has already disappeared to a considerable extent and it is possible that pan-European cooperation

in the field of education which is being actively promoted by Unesco, can greatly contribute to the consolidation of the positive changes which have taken place to date and to the creation of a new Europe open to all forms of cooperation, whether they be political, educational, scientific, cultural or others.

The evaluation of higher education systems is not only of particular interest to national researchers but, for evident reasons it is a promising field for international exchanges and comparisons. Unesco has therefore organized a series of meetings on this theme which have aroused considerable interest in Europe and in other regions.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Institute of International Education which is hosting this meeting, Stockholm University and the Swedish National Commission for Unesco, which have given us this opportunity to meet together to discuss, on the basis of the reports from the four Nordic countries (Sweden, Finland, Norway and Denmark), some of the problems of evaluation of European higher educational systems and to determine possible fields of future cooperative activities which could be sponsored by Unesco.

The Nordic countries which are very closely linked both to the West and to the East have always been an excellent example of good will being translated into practical action, even in times which were less advantageous for pan-European cooperation.

Finally, I would like to personally thank the Director of the Institute of International Education, Professor Ingemar Fägerlind and his Deputy Director, Professor Vinayagum Chinapah, for their continued cooperation with Unesco in developing European and interregional cooperation in the field of education, and particularly in the field of educational evaluation.

Summary

The fast-changing situation in Europe opens many doors to collaborative ventures in all walks on life. The Unesco Seminar in Stockholm serves as an eye-opener to many such collaborative ventures. Apart from the participation of scholars from the Nordic countries, this Seminar brought together experienced educators from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Germany (the then Germany Democratic Republic), Hungary, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, the Unesco offices in Paris and Hamburg, and from the OECD (see Appendix I for the list of participants). All throughout the Seminar, significant brainstorming was ensured through the exchange of studies and experiences on the evaluation of higher education in Europe.

This report consists of two parts. Papers and comments on evaluation of higher education in the four Nordic countries - Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden - are presented in Part One of the report. In Part Two, we have included the remaining contributions to the Seminar concerning Eastern Europe.

The first study in the Nordic Countries is prepared by Helge Dohn and concerns the evaluation of higher education in Denmark. Three distinct periods of development are discussed in terms of three types of parameters. The periods are referred to as the eras of doldrums, student activism and professionalism. The parameters cover internal aspects, governance and relations with society.

The three eras cover specific time periods and have distinct characteristics. The doldrums era was from 1945 to the 1960s. It was characterized by adherence to tradition and an attitude of silence. The era from the 1960s through the 1970s is one of student activism.

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The quests for democratization and equality were important to this period. From the 1980s to the present is referred to as the era of professionalism. There is an emphasis on accountability and an orientation toward the market.

Dohn concludes in the paper that higher education in Denmark is in a state of transition. The changes are based on pressures from outside of the universities. He also notes that reform plans are seldom subject to evaluation.

The subject of the second study is the evaluation of higher education in Finland, which is prepared by Osmo Kivinen and Risto Rinne. They discuss the development of Finnish higher education from the 1960s to the present. Alternative forms of evaluation and problems of evaluation are discussed before an idea, based on the concept of development centers, is presented.

Kivinen and Rinne trace the development of higher education in Finland decade-by-decade beginning in the 1960s. In the 1960s more centralized and systematic policies were introduced. There was a series of reforms in the 1970s resulting in a "classroom effect". This effect involved closely tying studies to curricula planning and teaching arrangements. In the 1980s careful university self-regulation was introduced. The authors predict that the 1990s will be characterized by increased competition among institutions for economic resources.

The forms of evaluation prevalent in Finnish education are presented before Kivinen and Rinne discuss problems with indicator-based evaluations. The problems they mention in Finland are: the underestimation of qualitative factors, the lack of comparative study, the fact that Finnish is a relatively small language group, and the limited scope of evaluation research.

Kivinen and Rinne present so-called development centers as a method of implementing educational policy. These centers would use university research resources to create a basis for alternative educational policies.

The third study, by Arild Tjeldvoll, discusses education in Norway. The author's aim is to present government initiatives and the problems of management and evaluation in the context of the Norwegian system. A key concern has been the relatively low productivity of the system.

Norwegian evaluation indicators have been influenced by external sources. These include a 1988 survey by the OECD and the economic developments related to the EC. Two important reports from 1988 are described by Tjeldvoll. These are the Hernes report and the Johannessen report.

Finally, Tjeldvoll addresses two important issues: the need for and the importance of higher education evaluation, and the problems and process of developing indicators for evaluation.

The fourth study, on the evaluation of higher education in Sweden, is by Urban Dahllöf. The study includes a characterization of the Swedish system and a discussion of various types and problems of evaluation.

Dahllöf describes different evaluation types. Individual students are evaluated through examinations. Middle-level evaluation is concerned with the program and department levels. The evaluation of the whole system of education calls for comparisons between study-programs or sectors of education and comparisons between the Swedish systems of higher education with those of other countries. A notable feature of a given evaluation is its internality or externality. Internal evaluation relates a program to established goals, while external evaluation involves the relations between education and the society as a whole.

Dahllöf discusses two problems of evaluation study in Sweden. The first problem concerns comparison within Sweden. There have been some misuses of aggregate data. Dahllöf cautions that much care is necessary when using such data for evaluation. The other problem involves international comparisons. In such evaluations the

selection of nations for comparison is of great importance. Comparative studies by the author are mentioned briefly.

This publication also includes three shorter studies on Eastern Europe. These are: Christo Christov's paper on Bulgaria, Volker Deregowski's paper on Germany, and Valery N. Afanassiev's paper on the USSR. The papers on Eastern Europe describe similar problems faced by higher education in light of the dramatically changing conditions in the region. The papers on Eastern Europe note tremendous social, ideological, political, economic and cultural changes occurring in the region. These dramatic changes affect the systems and institutions of higher education.

Christov, Deregowski and Afanassiev suggest that the societal changes will involve specific changes in the higher education systems. Higher education must adapt to market oriented economic situations and, in particular, to the changing mechanisms for allocating employment of university-trained individuals. Democratic controls and academic freedom should be introduced in all aspects of higher education. The authors discuss the need to, while fundamentally changing the systems, evaluate and, when appropriate retain, elements of the former systems.

Comments were submitted in response to the articles on three of the four Scandinavian countries. Generally, these comments provide some recommendations regarding the evaluation of higher education in a changing Europe.

Paul Bélanger provides comments on the article concerning higher education in Finland. He suggests that linking allocation of resources with evaluation processes will affect further development of evaluation. Also, an open and dynamic feedback system is necessary to accountability. The accountability process should not be under the control of the state if it is to be efficient.

Robert Cowen comments on Tjeldvoll's paper concerning the evaluation of higher education in Norway. Cowen recommends that policy proposals, in a changing Europe, should be based on a theory

of international political and economic relations. Evaluation of education should not take place in a social vacuum and, therefore, it should include proper consideration of such issues as how education can contribute to the cultural defence of a nation. Another recommendation by Cowen is that countries should make use of international comparisons to improve their own evaluation practices.

Two commentaries are made on Dahllöf's article on evaluation of higher education in Sweden. The first of these commentaries is by Guy Neave. Neave discusses the delicate relationship between evaluation and national objectives in terms of accountability and autonomy. Questions such as who sets the criteria of performance and who evaluates institutional performance are of vital importance in educational evaluation today.

The second commentary on Dahllöf's article is by Vinayagum Chinapah. Chinapah points out that evaluation systems must take into account the heterogeneity of the student population. He also stresses the importance of having a built-in, continuous system of evaluation. Finally, he recommends a reappraisal of the incentive structure as it relates to all who are involved in the evaluation process.

Part One

Evaluation of Higher Education in the Nordic Countries

(Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden)

Evaluation of Higher Education in Denmark

Helge Dohn

Introduction

In Denmark the term "higher education" is used in a rather restricted sense. Higher education is confined to the type of education offered at universities and specialized higher education institutions.

At present, there are five universities in Denmark of which two are called University Centers. Specialized higher education institutions include, among others; technical schools, dental colleges, and Fine Arts' Academies. Studies which are at a tertiary level but are not considered higher education are offered at institutions such as, teacher training colleges, engineering colleges, and schools of midwives, social work, and physiotherapy (Danish Ministry of Education and Research, 1989).

Higher education institutions can be distinguished from the latter, in that they have to carry out research, and also with regard to the legislation administrating the institutions (Dohn, 1987). The data to be presented relates to higher education as defined above.

The two oldest and largest universities have five faculties: Theology, Social Sciences, Humanities, Natural Sciences, and Medicine. These universities are modeled after the continental Humboldt type of university, and are traditionally supposed to place greater emphasis on general education than the specialized higher education institutions which are considered to be true professional schools.

The new universities established in the 1970s were organized in a different way, offering three or more areas of study. They also incorporated study programmes offered at specialized higher education institutions or further education institutions, e.g., business administration, and social work. Thus, the trend has been to bridge the traditional separation between higher education and other forms of post-secondary education.

Status and Development

In the post war period, it is possible to identify three distinct eras of educational development. The development depicted here has probably taken place in the other Nordic, and most of the Western European countries. The eras are:

I: The doldrums era: From 1945 to the 1960s.

This period was characterized by tradition and silence. New study programmes were introduced, e.g. psychology, political science.

II: The student activism era: From the mid 1960s to the late 1970s.

This period was characterized by a quest for democratization, and equality. Ideological points of view were accentuated and new universities were established.

III: The professionalism era: From the early 1980s to the present.

This period is characterized by a demand for accountability and market orientation. A process of reorganization of the educational structure, and of the courses is initiated.

Evidently, transition from one period to the next has been smooth. During the transition from Period I to II, a growing demand for participation of the students and younger faculty, resulted in an act on the administration of the universities, passed in 1970, which granted these claims. The transition from Period II to III was

characterized by various initiatives in order to enhance the adaptability and flexibility of higher education in a period when financial cut-backs were frequent. The first step in this process was the introduction in 1977 of a general system of admission regulation to courses of higher and further education. The most recent, is a structural reform of the Humanities and Natural Science courses presently being implemented.

In the following section, a number of parameters have been selected which might be useful in describing the development through the three periods. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the schematic outline below only represents the development in general.

The parameters can be categorized in the following main groups:

- internal parameters characterizing higher education from an educational angle;
- parameters relating to the governance of universities and higher education institutions; and
- parameters describing the interface between higher education and society.

Comments

In Table 1 on the next page, the Roman numerals indicate the three eras and the parameters are listed to the left. This table depicts some main lines in the development of higher education since 1945. This section will elaborate a little upon the individual parameters starting with the internal parameters (The Minister of Education and Research).

Table 1 Parameters of the development of Higher in Denmark during the three periods

Internal Parameters	I	II	III
Type of education offered (elite, mass)	e	m	m
Numerus clausus	no	yes	yes
Drop-out rate (high, moderate)	m	h	h-m
Course structure (single subjects, comprehensive, flexible)	s	s-c	c-f
Curriculum organization (discipline, inter-disciplinary, core)	d	i	o
Type of degrees awarded (continental, anglo-sax)	c	c	c-a
Type of graduate (civil servant, reformer, professional)	c	r	p
Relationship higher-education, research (close, loose)	c	c	c-l
Mark of higher education (quality:1, quantity:2)	1	2	2-1
Parameters Relating to Governance			
Autonomy (high, medium)	h	h-m	m
Decision-making (centralized, decentralized)	d	d	d-c
Type of management (autocr., democr.,oligarchic)	a	d	d-o
Decision-makers (professors, council, faculty)	p	c	f
Parameters Relating to Interface with Society			
Source of finance (state, private)	s	s	s-p
Basis for funding (input, output)	i	i	i-o
Expenses as a factor on national budget	no	yes	yes
Higher-education as an object of planning	no	no-yes	yes
Higher-education as a productive factor	no	no-yes	yes
Higher-education as a matter of public awareness	no	yes	yes
Demand/supply (balance, surplus, shortage)	b	sh-su	su-b
Prospective employer (public, private)	pu	pu	pu-pr
Internationalization	no	no	no-yes

Internal Parameters

Type of education offered. The turn from elite to mass education can be illustrated by the increase in the number of persons who qualify for enrollment in higher education. In 1960, 5% of a cohort were holders of the Upper Secondary School Leaving Examination or the equivalent. This has increased to more than 1/3 of a cohort at present. Consequently, course intake increased greatly from 1960

to the present. The intake in 1960 was 3.500 students, and in 1988 around 15.000 students (Danish Ministry of Education and Research, 1989).

Numerus clausus. As pointed out, a general system of admission regulation was introduced in 1977. A continuous reallocation of study places is carried out so that more study places are offered in those countries which are the least cost demanding and lead to good employment opportunities.

Drop-out rate. A high drop-out rate of up to 60-70%, in the course of the first years, and a completion rate as low as 25-35% in some humanities courses, has lead to a shortening of the longest MA degree courses, and to the introduction of 3-year bachelor study programmes.

Course structure. Traditionally, the MA degree courses consisted of one or two single subjects. During the 1970s, study programmes combining different and non-traditional subjects were introduced as a response to the interests and needs of the students. The present structural reform of the study programmes in the Humanities and the Natural Sciences is intended to build greater flexibility into the courses. It is possible for students admitted to a long-cycle degree course to get off on the way to obtain a bachelor's degree.

Curriculum organization. There has been a shift from discipline oriented organization to inter-disciplinary organization, with an emphasis on the project method to a core curriculum model.

Types of degree awarded. In accordance with the continental tradition, universities and higher education institutions awarded the MA, the licentiate, and the doctor's degree. The latter degree is retained as the MA degree, the BA degree is introduced and the licentiate degree is turned to a Ph.D. degree, now using the English nomenclature.

Type of graduate. The image of a graduate has turned from that of a civil servant, to the reformer of society, toward the image of a

professional person, to be employed in the private as well as in the public sector.

Relationship between higher education and research. During the last 15 years, initiatives have been taken to loosen the traditionally close links between higher education and research. In that respect, the National Research Council, and the more recently established Research Academy play a role, as they can allocate resources of their own for research, and research education purposes.

Mark of higher education. Initiatives for ensuring quality in the courses have been taken. This applies both to the demands to be made, and to the quality of the teaching offered, as well as to study intensity and quality on the part of the students. A quality enhancement project has been launched, and in addition, external evaluation has been employed.

Parameters Relating to Governance of Universities and Higher Education Institutions

Autonomy. During the last ten years financial cutbacks have contributed to the restriction of autonomy in higher education institutions. Among the effects have been the regulation of admission, and allocation of study places to certain courses. The demand for shortening the longest degree courses, and the reform of the educational structure, have also contributed to reducing the traditionally held autonomy of academic institutions.

Decision-making. At the institutional level there is a tendency for decision-making to move upwards from the individual institute to departments and faculties as a response to tighter budgets. The same tendency towards centralization is seen in the movement towards merging small institutes into bigger units..

Type of management and decision-makers. The so-called professor rule came to an end when the Act on the Administration of the Universities was passed in 1970. Subsequently, the administration of the universities was taken care of by collegiate boards and

committees made up of elected representatives from the faculty, students, and in some cases technical and administrative personnel. Although the act is still in effect, a consequence of the various administrative regulations seems to be that the decision-making is often carried out by smaller circles of faculty. A revision of the act is anticipated in the near future, probably with the intent of leaving the decision-making in the hands of fewer persons.

Parameters Relating to the Interface Between Higher Education and Society

Source of finance. All higher education institutions come under the Ministry of Education and Research or the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, and are, in that capacity, state financed. In recent years, the growing collaboration between higher education institutions and industry, in a few cases, produced a kind of sponsoring of professorships in areas, where according to universities, a special need is found. Also, guest teachers from industry have been employed to compensate for a lack of qualified faculty. A growing collaboration along these lines is anticipated.

Basis for funding. The basis for appropriations for higher education has until now been the intake to courses, or the number of study places allocated to each institution (the input of students). At the present, a new budget model is being introduced through which the individual institutions are allocated resources for their study programmes directly depending on the number of so-called study level increases earned (output). This is a registration of the examinations passed by the students (Christensen, 1989). In addition to this, the universities and higher education institutions receive funding to be used for research.

It is planned that the budget model should also include a registration of the number of graduates later employed, so that the allocation of resources also depends upon the ability of the institutions to produce graduates with good employment prospects.

Thus, the model reflects an effort to adapt the planning of higher education to market conditions.

Expenses as a factor on the National Budget. Activities under the Ministry of Education and Research belong to the highest expense category, alongside expenses for social, and health services. Since the expansion in the 1970s, higher education has taken a greater share of the budget, and is as such therefore, susceptible to financial cut-backs. The efforts to increase the efficiency of the higher education system imply that the educational capacity should be maintained.

Higher education as an object of planning. Because of the growing expense and enrollment into higher education during the 1970s, higher education became subject to planning from outside the institutions themselves, e.g., the regulation for admission to studies introduced in 1977. The establishment of a Directorate for Further and Higher Education, under the Ministry of Education and Research, with the purpose of administering and planning should also be mentioned. Also, various committees and planning councils have been established to advise on the development of higher education and research.

Higher education as a productive factor. The importance of higher education as a productive factor was in the first era mainly indirect. Greater attention to the relationship between education level and production capacity was stressed by OECD during the latter part of the 1960s and through the 1970s. More deliberate attempts to plan in the field of higher education, especially with reference to technology and biotechnology, have been carried out in the 1980s in order to contribute to an increase of productivity in the private sector.

Higher education as a matter of public awareness. The growing expenses for higher education, the turn of higher education from elite to mass education, and the need to seek better qualifications of the young, alongside the unrest at the universities during the 1960s and

the beginning of the 1970s, stirred public awareness. Since then, higher education has been a matter of interest, reflected in the attention payed to it in the media, as well as in political debate.

Demand and supply of academic manpower. Since the middle of the 1970s a shortage of academic manpower was replaced by a growing surplus in certain fields, particularly among graduates from the Humanities planning to pursue a career in the upper secondary school. The introduction of the numerus clausus, alongside the initiatives referred to above, aims to create a better balance between demand and supply, as in the first era.

Prospective employer. The public sector, particularly the educational sector and the health care sector, is not able to absorb new graduates in the near future. As a result, there have been deliberate attempts to place graduates in the private sector. It should be mentioned that the unemployment rate among graduates from the Humanities has actually decreased somewhat as a result of efforts to channel these graduates into non-traditional jobs in the private sector.

The short-cycle courses, the BA, and the greater flexibility of the courses aim to contribute to better employment prospects in the private sector.

Internationalization. Although universities and higher education institutions traditionally maintain their international orientation, there has been little collaboration across the borders. This refers more to the education side of higher education than the research side, where there is a stronger tradition for international collaboration.

The stimulus to increase the international collaboration on the education side is primarily the EC joint study programme. Also, it has been voiced by politicians and industrial leaders that spending half a year abroad should be a compulsory component of a higher education study programme. It should be mentioned that programmes like the ERASMUS programme are in the making, and among other problems, language has been a severe barrier to establishing joint studies and exchange programmes between students.

The Interplay Between the Parameters

Which parameters are decisive for the development depicted above since 1945? What is the cause and the effect, and what is the interplay between the parameters?

A study by Christensen (1982) analyzed educational planning and its underlying political premises in the 1960s and 1970s. The conclusion was that universities, as a consequence of the enormous growth in higher education during that period, had lost some of their autonomy. They had themselves become objects of planning at a higher level; in particular, the administrative and political levels.

Apparently, universities and higher education institutions played a minor role in defining their future development. This is somewhat of a paradox as the universities actually possess the expertise to forecast their development, and accordingly formulate a policy of their own.

At the end of Period I, the student took over and reshuffled the universities. This movement partly came from the inside. At the end of Period II, the administrative and political levels took over. The universities appear to have reacted in a spirit of self-sufficiency. They became defensive, did not respond to the needs of society, and took few initiatives. It might be that the students from 1968, who in the 1980s had the decision-making capacity as members of collegiate boards and councils, were reluctant to respond to the now zeitgeist.

One might single out university self-governance as a less important agent in the adjustment of higher education to the situation in the 1980s. In that respect, it is possible to perceive the university governance as a kind of intermediate variable. It seems to be caused by the interface parameters between higher education and society: the imbalance in employment prospects, the growing expenses of higher education, the demand for internationalization, and the need to use higher education as a means to raise productivity, and in doing so to establish closer links to industry. The effect has been massive change in the pedagogy of higher education: shorter cycle courses,

more flexibility, efforts to reduce drop-out, efforts to channel students into fields with better employments prospects, and the desire to enhance the equality of education.

The danger might be that one of the traditional roles of the universities as a cultural agent could be down-graded in the efforts to prepare students for a profession.

Evaluation of Higher Education

As to the evaluation of higher education, the title of this paper, it is useful to distinguish between various levels on which to carry out evaluation.

Five deductive levels can be identified:

1. Superior and general plans for Higher Education, e.g. plans and procedures for admission to studies, budget models for universities.
2. Plans for the individual higher education instructions, e.g. plans for the educational structure in the Humanities and Natural Sciences to be taught at given university.
3. Plans for a single study programme, e.g. aims, curriculum content.
4. Plans for a specific course, e.g. objectives, course contents, textbooks used.
5. Plans for working out the specific teaching-learning events, e.g. the methodology, the techniques.

Looked upon from an educational angle there is contradiction. On the one hand, the most decisive decisions are taken at level 1 or 2, but the educational consequences are seldom evaluated. On the other hand, most of the evaluative studies are carried out at levels 3, 4, and 5. The studies on these levels usually have higher value as a basis for adjustment in a smaller perspective.

The evaluative studies at levels 1 and 2 are usually prognoses and forecasts, based on statistical data. Some drop out studies are

also carried out. Another study dealt with the situation of those applicants to higher and further education who were not admitted.

A lack of personnel with a background in educational planning and administration, probably plays a role. Most of the planning of higher education takes place at the Ministry of Education and Research, advised by various committees, perhaps not always with a clear conception of the pedagogical realities. Conversely, people in education often focus on the lowest didactical levels. evaluating the curriculum content, the teaching-learning process, etc.

Conclusion

As pointed out, higher education seems to be in a state of transition. The pressure for renewal is coming from the outside rather than from the inside of universities. The consequences of the plans reforming higher education are only seldom subject to evaluation. All too often, the evaluation carried out focuses on the lower didactic level.

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Evaluation of Higher Education in Finland

Osmo Kivinen & Risto Rinne

Introduction

Following international models Finland's "new" educational policy is directed towards the evaluation of higher education using performance indicators. Finland is not in a leading position internationally in the change over to this "competitive" educational policy, and Finns have not been able in a specific way to develop any measures or means differing from the indicators used elsewhere, (see Cuenin 1987; Frackmann 1987; Cave *et al.* 1988).

The Guidelines of Finnish Higher Education

When the large age groups born after the Second World War entered higher education in the 1960s, many countries began to introduce more centralized higher educational policies and planning. Systematic higher educational policies were also introduced in Finland. Their main aim was to increase the capacity of higher education and to decentralize it. Since the 1950s, seven new multi-faculty universities have been established in addition to the three older ones. At present, there are 20 institutions of higher education in Finland (Kivinen, Rinne & Ahola, 1989).

The massification of Finnish higher education, described as the growth of the student numbers is illustrated by the following Figure 1. This Figure also points out the diminishing share of the students in the oldest and greatest University of Helsinki among the Finnish higher education students.

In order to achieve a uniform national higher educational policy, the state authority's rights to plan and control were increased by allocating more government subsidies to the traditionally autonomous universities. By the 1980s, all the institutions of higher education had become state-owned, although some degree of independence is guaranteed by the law. The number of officials concerned with higher educational policies in the Ministry of Education and the number of administrators in higher education institutions increased rapidly. At the moment, every sixth person working in higher education is an administrator (Kivinen, Rinne & Mäntyvaara 1989). The shift to centralized public administration also meant the adoption of "modern" social planning mechanisms in higher education.

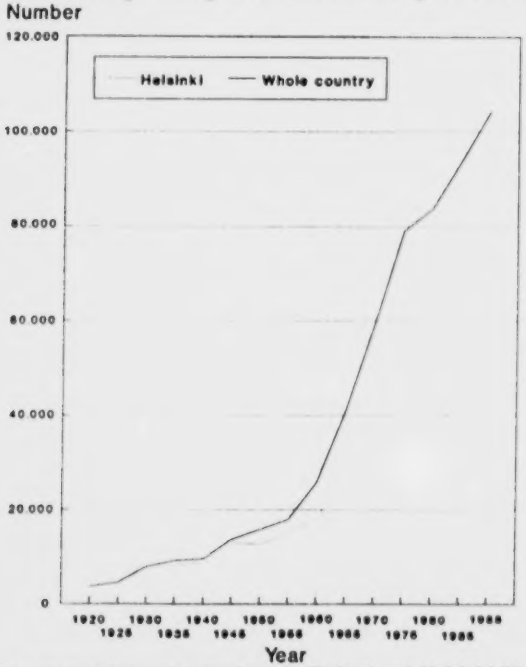


Figure 1 The Higher Education Students in Finland and Helsinki Since 1920

Unlike in many other countries, special intermediate bodies between the Ministry of Education and the higher education institutions which, for example, organize financing, were not set up in Finland (see Neave 1986; Cave et al. 1988). The control and evaluation of higher education is carried out directly by the Ministry of Education, through its Department of Higher Education and Research.

Reforms and their Outcomes in Finland: The 'Classroom Effect'

A series of higher education reforms carried out during the 1970s in Finland brought about considerable changes in both administration and the curriculum. The replacement of traditional curricular structure by systematically designed degree programs, and the abolition of the BA-level 'lower degrees', unintentionally resulted in a 'classroom effect'. Simultaneously, there was a striking increase in administrative personnel. In most of the Finnish higher education institutions, administrative reforms replaced traditional structures of authority by democratically-elected committees based on equal representation for three 'estates': the professorate; the non-professorial teaching, research and administrative staff; and the students. Councils constructed on this principle were installed at the departmental, faculty, and university senate levels. The only university in Finland still governed by the traditional professorate today is the University of Helsinki.

The cornerstones of these reforms in the Finnish universities during the 1970s were laid on the foundations of the student radicalism of the 1960s. Where the main objective in the administrative reforms was to achieve a greater degree of democracy, the curricular reforms were aimed at 'polytechnicality': the ideal of a higher education determined equally by the pursuit of scientific truth and vocationally-driven training. University studies were to be liberated from their ivory tower and brought into closer contact with

life and the degree programs were to provide a solid professional basis for work.

Another result of the 1970s reforms was the integration into the universities of new training sectors, such as teacher training for primary and junior secondary schools, which was seen as particularly appropriate for this integration in view of the vocational orientation being injected into the universities and, equally, of the scientific and scholarly contribution which the universities could offer. The integration also, however, 'smuggled' into the universities a certain vocational orientation and a new emphasis on teaching.

As a consequence of the 1970s reforms, therefore, the Finnish universities experienced a marked 'classroom effect'. Increasingly, the university came to resemble schools, where the progress of studies is tied in closely with curricular planning and teaching arrangements. Students' academic freedom to take courses outside their major subjects was drastically curtailed. The counselling of students became professionalized. At the same time, students' grants and loans became tied to academic progress, since students were now required to complete a specified number of credits per semester in order to qualify for continuation of their public financial assistance.

In the 1950s, almost half of the academic staff at Finnish universities consisted of professors and docents (part-time post-doctoral teaching posts, held in conjunction with other full-time employment); a large proportion of the other staff were assistants, whereas there were few lecturers. With the expansion of higher education since the 1960s, the proportion of lectureships has grown drastically, and those of professors and assistants has fallen correspondingly (see Figure 2).

This shift in the staff structure of the Finnish universities is a further indication of the 'classroom effect', since lectureships are teaching posts with little or no research responsibilities but a heavy teaching load. Lecturers are university 'teachers' in a narrow sense. Professors, associate professors, and assistants, on the other hand, are all under contractual obligation to engage in research and,

correspondingly, carry much smaller teaching loads. Their posts thus conform to the tradition that university subjects should be taught by people who have acquired their expertise through research.

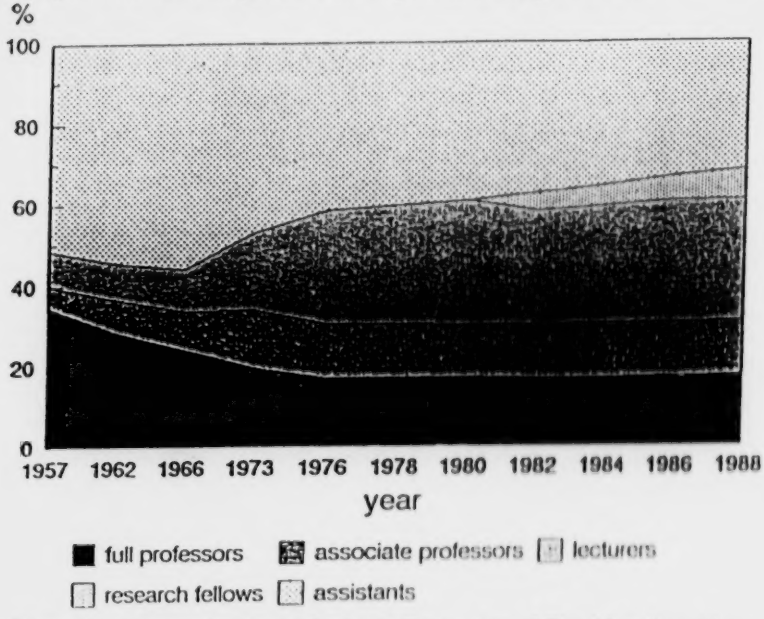


Figure 2 Changes in the academic staff structure of Finnish universities

The New Evaluation Policies of the State Administration

During the 1980s, new "strategies of self regulation" (Van Vught, 1988; Neave, 1988; Kivinen & Rinne, 1989; 1990) have also been introduced in Finland. The idea is that the government with its central administration steps back and transfers authority to higher education and its separate departments. In return, the departments plan their own activities on a long-term basis, measure the results and report these results to the government. The purpose is to bring about a change from strict pre-planning and equal distribution of

finances to post-evaluation and even to "risk-financing" of plans which look promising. Financial support might even be withdrawn if no results are achieved.

At the same time, there has been a change to a form of control based on the so-called dialogue method. Each department makes a medium-term plan for five years which is revised once a year. These plans are then commented on by the central administration and are used in drawing up the operational and economic plan which is also revised every year. These plans are then sent to the Ministry of Education, which comments on them. On the basis of these plans, the Ministry makes decisions on finances, new posts and so forth.

Two central demands are made by the strategy of self regulation: (1) A new kind of responsibility for results is expected from the institutions of higher education. Each institution should observe and evaluate its activities continually, and also be ready to abolish activities in which no results have been achieved. (2) Higher education and its departments have to let the state check how successful their activities have been. Indicator systems making comparisons possible have to be developed both at the national level and at the institutional and departmental level. Higher education is expected to develop its activities on the basis of the evaluation made, using these indicators.

The Finnish government regained the right to measure activities in higher education by promising an annual increase of 15% in real terms in research financing during the period 1988-91. In return, higher education promised to carry out the operational and economic plan and to introduce the indicator system described earlier. A special database (KOTA), which consists of information about, for example, degrees, teachers and other staff, finances, further education, and buildings, has been developed to assist the Ministry of Education. Departments are also obliged to inform their central administration about the number of graduate and postgraduate students and degrees obtained, the average time taken to complete the different degrees and the amount of teaching undertaken.

The same obligations apply to vocational and other further education. All research carried out, including research projects, has to be reported. The publications are divided into monographs, articles, congress papers and posters, etc., both in Finnish and in other languages. Furthermore, the international exchange of students and researchers has to be reported. All this information is, in turn, passed on to the Ministry of Education.

This rather new system of careful follow-up and planning has been accepted in higher education with few complaints. All the institutions of higher education and their departments have begun to follow this new system with almost no sign of resistance, even though it has caused quite a revolution within the academic tradition with its emphasis on autonomy. This is surprising because most of the concrete evaluation job lays, in practice, on the shoulders of the university staff itself. The most obvious explanation for this eagerness to accept (self) evaluation must lie in monetary prospects, dreams and beliefs that one's own department and institution is going to do well in this new "competitive policy".

The situation in Finland is different from that in other countries because, so far, higher education has been able to share in a growing financial cake. However, this growth may also come to an end in the 1990s. In that case, indicator follow-up will not operate as a carrot, but rather as a stick. Instead of allocating new resources, reductions will have to be made, and even existing activities will have to be brought to an end.

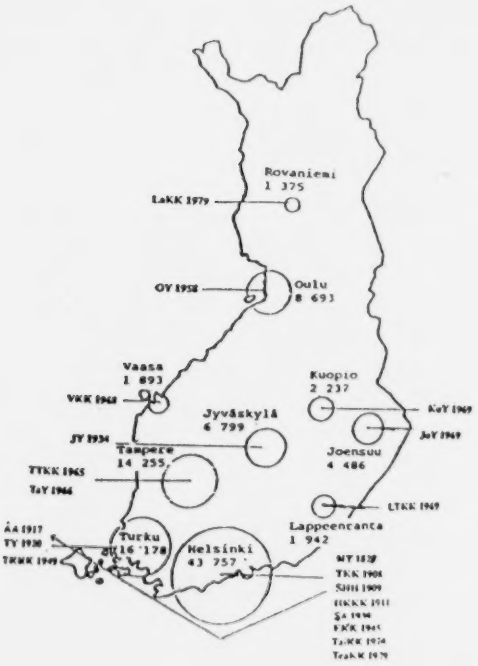
An attempt is being made in Finland to change from the previous policy of providing basic financial resources to a policy of competition and efficiency in the 1990s. The conflict resulting from this change may be the cause of major problems in Finnish higher education in the near future. Whereas the aim of the previous policy was to arrange a similar level of basic financial resources for all higher education institutions, there is now a change to a competitive situation in which ultimately some win and some loose. For higher education institutions in remote and sparsely populated areas of

Finland this change could be fatal. If, for example, in the name of raising international competitiveness, division of labor is going to be made deeper, institutions such as the University of Joensuu, situated on Finland's eastern border, and the University of Lapland really have to find a competitive advantage and develop their own strengths in order not to wither away and die. At the same time, a shift towards centralization in Helsinki and in southern Finland in general, rather than a shift towards decentralization, has been predicted.

Obviously Finland has too small a population to produce enough professors and research workers to fill the vacancies in its backwoods universities, even where there is important work waiting to be done. Many senior posts are filled only temporarily, and "carpet-bag" professors often only pay short visits to their official place of work, concentrating their efforts on obtaining a foothold in one of the universities with higher prestige. Increasing difficulties are even being faced with the recruitment of non-professorial staff (lecturers and assistants).

It is fatal for a university to be unable to recruit students; but there are some signs of this happening. The numbers of young people have been steadily falling in the catchment areas for the new universities and colleges established during the 1960s and 1970s around the periphery of the country. Increased geographical mobility is leading to a drain of potential students to more densely populated and economically developed southern Finland, where most of the larger universities are situated. We have good reason to predict that the universities, in the near future, will more clearly compete for student clients.

In Figure 3, the geographical map of the higher education institutions in Finland is presented. The map illustrates very clearly that the policy of the regionalization of higher education has been quite practical. There are 20 universities altogether - at least by that name - the most peripherical in Lapland and Carelia.



Abbreviations:

University of Lapland (LaKK)
College of Industrial Arts (TaiKK)
University of Joensuu (JoY)
University of Vaasa (VKK)

University of Oulu (OY)
College of Veterinary Medicine(EKK)
University of Jyväskylä (JY)
University of Turku (TY)
Helsinki School of Economics(HKKK)
Helsinki University of Technology (TKK)

Theatre Academy (TeaKK)
Lappeenranta University of Technology (LTKK)
University of Kuopio (KuY)
Tampere University of Technology (TTKK)
Turku School of Economics (TKKK)
Sibelius Academy (SA)
University of Tampere (TaY)
University of Åbo Academy (ÅA)
Swedish School of Economics (SHH)
University of Helsinki (HY)

Figure 3 The Higher Education Institutions by Town, the Year of Grounding and the Amount of Students in 1988.

Note: The earliest university in Finland was the Academy established in Turku in 1640. In 1828 the university was moved to Helsinki.

The situation in higher education may change from the year 1991, if experimental vocational institutions of higher education ("Fachhochschule") are introduced. According to the latest higher educational policy envisaged by the Ministry of Education, vocational higher education will rapidly come to occupy a significant position in Finnish higher education (OPM, 1989).

The state's machinery of planning now demands the use of performance indicators which have been developed. So far, these indicators have been applied to the practical control of resources infrequently, but in the 1990s the proportion of finances distributed on the basis of these indicators is clearly going to rise.

Other Forms of Evaluation in Finland

The evaluation of higher education in Finland is carried out by the Ministry of Education or directly in connection with public financing and planning. The Academy of Finland, the central institution in the public funding of research, has also begun, so-called research evaluation during the 1980s. This involves an evaluation of one large area of research at a time. Highly competent Finnish and international experts in the area are used. They collect a fairly large amount of material in the research area from all the institutions concerned, then make a report to the Academy of Finland, and this provides suggestions for possible further research activities.

Only a few research areas have been evaluated so far. Amongst these are organic chemistry and educational science. Until now, the importance of this kind of evaluation has been quite insignificant in terms of the direction of resources, the organization of research, and the change of the academic division of labor. This evaluation has mainly focused on the most serious problems, such as an overlapping of research activities, or the distortion and backwardness of research. It has caused some discussion and even some counter-arguments. After the publication of the first reports, the Academy now seems to be lowering slightly its profile as an evaluator.

Finland has also participated in some international comparative research programmes for the organization of higher education carried out by the OECD. These programmes have played their own role in provoking discussion and in providing a basis for some reforms.

The aims of teaching and research in Finnish higher education are still the most fundamentally evaluated by using traditional academic means. Students and teachers are voting "with their feet" by going into those research areas, units and departments of higher education which are thought to have a high status. Students and top-level teachers and researchers are concentrated in certain research areas and units because research funding tends to be concentrated in these areas.

A good test of how the academic tradition works is the selection of teaching staff at the highest level. In Finland, the appointment of professors is made by the President. The procedure for filling a professor's post is a long process based on expert opinion. At the faculty level, only those persons who have reached the same level of competence can participate in assessing the academic competence of the candidates. And so, the whole process of nomination and selection follows an academic ritual in which every stage - at least in principle - is based on a thorough evaluation. This procedure for selecting professors can be described as being at the very heart of the evaluation process. This is the case, particularly when one knows about the "bottom heaviness" (see Clark 1983) in the exercise of power in higher education, and the symbolic and social power of professors on the direction of teaching and research processes in their department (see Bourdieu 1988).

In view of these factors, it is rather surprising how little debate there has been over the relationships between evaluation and organizational mechanisms and the exercise of power of special quality in higher education. If we use Pierre Bourdieu's concept we are speaking about the problems of symbolic violence. The Finnish "evaluation discussion" has centered upon social engineering skills; the emphasis has especially been on reliable methods of measuring

effectiveness. No common means have yet been found by which different research areas can be measured. For example, the medical and natural sciences differ totally from the humanities and the social sciences in terms of the time taken to complete graduate and post-graduate degrees, the teaching and other resources needed - not to mention the nature of research process and the publishing policies. In Finland, we have reached the position of stalemate. All are defending their own territory, and, for example, the use of performance indicators at least in comparing research areas, turns out at the deepest practical level to have, the character of professional policy and/or social policy and/or regional policy.

The Limits of the Indicator-based Evaluation in Higher Education

The central problems in the evaluation of the Finnish higher education system are:

1. A clear underestimation of qualitative factors.
2. The lack of comparisons which might exceed the limits of individual research areas.
3. The small size of the Finnish language group. This means that it is difficult to apply international evaluation standards to all areas of research, which easily leads to "cliquishness".
4. The limited scope of the evaluation target. This means that only the internal activities of the higher education system are the targets of evaluation - but not, for example, the influence of education or research on the labor market, on economic life or on life in general.

The "self-evaluation" of higher education has clearly been connected to both the quantitative and qualitative points of view. This is exemplified by the assessment of the competence of candidates for professorships; a procedure which follows the academic tradition. The performance indicator system now being devised by the

government, seems to concentrate strongly on quantitative, "visible" results and their comparable measurement. Almost all the indicators in use are quantitative. The particular "development projects" are an exception to this because they can - as new projects - also be financed on the basis of qualitative plans and criteria.

Obviously, different areas of research cannot reasonably and reliably be compared. This is also partly true of comparisons made within an area of research if they are simply based on the notion that education itself is somehow all-powerful in producing different levels of academic results. In fact, at least in Finnish higher education, the basic differences in results already occur when students, researchers and teachers are recruited into departments, areas of research and institutions of higher education. A very large part of the "good" and "bad" results originates from the internal stratification of, and recruitment into, higher education (Isoaho, Kivinen & Rinne, 1990).

The small size of the Finnish language group produces only a few seriously competing schools of thought. In consequence, "objective" social indicators are strongly influenced by those small groups, who have a large amount of social and cultural capital.

From the point of view of the overall social importance of evaluation, it is very important to expand the targets of evaluation into areas outside higher education. In certain areas the target of evaluation could, for example, be the final outcomes; "victims" of education or those who benefit from it, such as the pupils of teachers, the patients of doctors, the clients of social workers. In other words, the conditions and well-being of the target groups would, at some more fundamental level, describe the real success of the results of higher education. Correspondingly, the advantages and disadvantages of technology to society would represent the quality of the technical sciences. The success of the economy and, ultimately, customers' satisfaction would represent the quality of the economic sciences. Both technological and economical points can be evaluated by the criteria of milieu-questions. In the context of all research, it is clear that basic research, which has no target groups, also has to

be evaluated. But even here, the period of evaluation has to be rather prolonged. The results of teaching and research in higher education cannot be properly evaluated in less than 10-15 years, with the exception of the limited direct technical costs of their effectiveness.

Finally, the harnessing of indicators in the service of Finnish higher education will produce its most fruitful results. If it does, it will simply be because of the departments and institutions of higher education that have to pay attention to the aims of their activities and the way they organize them, as well as to evaluating themselves and their activities.

On the other hand, Finnish higher education urgently needs evaluations of its administration. Researchers are continually evaluating each other, both with regard to filling posts and to publishing, but who is evaluating the effectiveness and the significance of the administrators?

Development Centers

In what way can the new higher education policy of selective development inputs, which favors the specialization and division of labor, be implemented? One way would be for the universities to establish their own development centers using part of their research resources to create a basis for alternative higher educational policies.

Centers trying to encourage the special expertise of their own university, should, however, co-operate with each other and work to benefit research. Some kind of central co-ordinating unit would be needed to combine the plans showing the strengths of each university, which would benefit the higher education policies of the whole country.

Increasing the resources of those departments which are strongest or most promising at the international level - that is increasing the specialized division of labor - would make it necessary to cut the number of existing inefficient or even useless departments. Here we come to some sore questions in the Finnish higher

education. Once gained, benefits are not easily given up. Unpleasant decisions are not easy to make, even for learned people.

Because of the principle of autonomy or because of the narrow area of their expertise, academics do not interfere with the affairs of other research areas and do not even see the obvious defects in the system as a whole. In order to overcome this kind of difficulty, it is important to set up development centers, which would create a reasonable and non-partisan background for decision making.

Jan-Erik Lane (1979) has found that the use of power in universities is based on the mobilization of special interests in each department. Even within the faculty, barriers between departments can be insuperable. Thus, the agreement not to interfere with each other's affairs is maximized in academic decision making. Maybe the threat of a total war between the representatives of different departments is too frightening. Academics are not really inclined to join in open warfare. There is enough intrigue behind the scenes. The search for consensus also has its effect on national higher education and research policies.

When developing ideas about the development centers, it makes sense to enlist some help from abroad. Highly competent international experts can at least be used to support the planning at the initial stages of the centers. In addition, those Finns who are employed in development tasks should receive the best possible education from the best departments in their areas. The evaluation of quality, emphasized in the new higher education policy, might improve when developed by experts who know their area.

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Comments: Higher Education in Finland

Paul Bélanger

The article by Kivinen and Rinne raises a number of important issues in the area of educational evaluation in Finland. The following comments point out some further questions and issues which emerged from their discussion.

- The close connection between the allocation of resources and the evaluation processes may have a presence effect for the further development of evaluation.
- How, indeed, do we create an open and dynamic circulation of feedback relevant data so as to help the different actors to impose the institution and make it more accountable?
- The issue of selection of performance indicators: Some indicators are helping or hindering institutions depending on their performance in such parameters. This selection is not mutual.
- We may have to stress a distinction between the monitors and evaluators, so as to facilitate the open communication and lower the resistance to change.
- There is an immense difference between the authorities requiring the universities to develop their

46

own evaluation policies and publish them on one hand, and, on the other hand, to proceed directly and evaluate the universities.

- To be efficient, the accountability process needs not to be under the control of the state. The simple publication of comparative data, will have an impact in the development of the institution through its public image. This image is indeed key for the recruitment of students and professors for the fund raising.
- The absence, in the Finnish situation, of any intermediary body of peer mechanism; of a "buffer" between the state and the ministries is surprising.
- There is an absence, in the paper, of the "recurrent education" important dimension of Finnish universities, of the changing age structure of the student population may distort our "evaluation " of the situation.
- The "European" dimension of universities is bound to have impact on student performance, staff, curriculum, diplomas, evaluation of libraries that should also be evaluated.
- The relationship between evaluation and planning should be properly considered and systematically monitored.

Evaluation of Higher Education and Research in Norway

Arild Tjeldvoll

Introduction

During the last two years there have been a number of initiatives by the Government's Department of Education and Research to create better productivity in the education sector as a whole, and in higher education and research in particular. The aim of this paper is to present these initiatives, and to briefly touch upon some of the problematic aspects of trying to manage and evaluate research and teaching in higher education institutions.

There are three groups of higher education institutions in Norway: 1) Universities and scientific colleges, 2) Public colleges and 3) Private colleges (both scientific and non-scientific). The first group is the most dominant, both on quantitative and qualitative measures.

In 1987 two important committees were appointed by the Government: 1) The Higher Education Committee, to assess goals, organization and priorities in higher education and research towards year 2000-2010 (NOU 1988: 28); and 2) The Committee to assess teacher education in colleges and universities (NOU 1988: 32).

The Government's overall aim is to improve productivity, by increasing quality. In other words, the Government wants to achieve

48

better results without more input of resources. Technically the Government would need information about how resources were used to achieve specific results. The strategy suggested for the institutions was management by objectives and activity-planning is seen as a logical consequence of managing by objectives. For the Department, as the main funding agency, it became an urgent question to find out which *indicators* or *parameters* to use.

External Stimuli - OECD and EC

The problem of finding valid and relevant indicators of quality in research and higher education was also a concern of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD). In an OECD-report from March 1988, survey-information about development and use of performance-indicators in higher education in 15 OECD-countries was presented (Cuenin, 1988). This study was part of a wider programme at the OECD's Institute of Management for Higher Education (IMHE). The study may have led to increased concern among Norwegian high-ranking education administrators. The main conclusions in this study were as follows:

1. Indicators are used to a widely varying degree in the different countries. This depends not only on the extent of institutional autonomy but also on the method of funding. If there is a scarcity of funds and if the grants are made on the basis of certain indicators, institutions will not be able to escape calculating them. In addition, despite the problems referred to in connection with the construction of indicators, comparisons are nonetheless made and this is another reason for studying these indicators.
2. The concept of a performance indicator needs to be defined more precisely so as to avoid the all-too-frequent confusion. It was however possible to differentiate between the three main categories of indicators, performance indicators, general indicators.

3. The analysis of the decision-making process showed that indicators were used primarily for the allocation of human or financial resources, and in addition for student planning and decisions regarding the courses taught; they are an aid to judgement but not a substitute for it.
4. It needs to be borne in mind that many indicators are taken into account in an informal manner in decision-making: whether specific or general, they are used to prove or disprove an opinion or point of view.
5. Institutions provide a vast array of raw data and indicators to their supervisory authorities but they are, on the whole, fairly skeptical about the usefulness of the information that is gathered. On the other hand, there is some measure of agreement as to what are the most important indicators in these relations with outside bodies.
6. It is fair to say that most institutions now accept the use of indicators in internal decision-making and in their relations with outside bodies. This attitude of mind should help stimulate the planning and carrying out of studies on performance indicators (Cuenin, 1988).

Another external stimulus for Norwegian higher education administrators, was the economic and structural development within the European Community (EC). Even when the question of future EC-membership is highly controversial in public opinion, there is hardly any disagreement about the necessity of some sort of structural adaptation to what is going on in Europe. In June, 1988, the Junior Ministers' Committee on EC-issues, appointed a special group for education related to the EC. The mandate was:

1. To register excising education cooperation within EC, regarding primary, secondary, higher and continuing education, - and to get information about the possibilities for Norwegian participation in EC education programmes.

2. To assess curricula at different levels, from a perspective of possible Norwegian adaption to the EC's inner market, and more specifically: a) to assess requirements and certifying-procedures for all professional personnel on all levels, in relation to the same levels and types in Norway; and b) to assess examinations and diploma/certificates in Norwegian upper secondary school, in relation to enrollment in universities and colleges within EC.
3. To assess possibilities for students from EC to study in Norway.
4. To assess the possibilities for professionally educated personnel from EC to establish themselves in Norway.
5. To assess the preconditions for, and the organizing of, a national follow-up-model for Norwegian participation in European education programmes, for the time being related to the COMETT II-programme.

Reports on Higher Education and Research

The Hernes-report (NOU 1988: 28) presented in September 1988, had as it's task to assess goals, organization and priorities for higher education and research. Some of the recommendations can be summarized as follows:

Recruitment to higher education requires:

- Better financing for students
- Better housing, kindergartens and welfare in general for students
- Better organized study programmes, especially for beginners
- Better teaching and more effective studies
- Better study programmes to be offered in the regional sector
- Increased recruitment of women

- More international contact and exchange
- From 1995 the recruitment should reach 105,000 students
- Students should be engaged in the evaluation of university teachers' teaching.

Division of labor and cooperation among higher education institutions, by the following means:

- the establishment of a "Norway-network" of the institutions for higher education, in order to create a meaningful division of labor in higher education and research, for the country as a whole
- technically an electronic-knowledge-network should be established
- exercising institutions should be reorganized as bigger units
- no new universities should be established
- cooperation between the institutions in general, and researcher education in particular, should be stimulated

Promoting Norwegian research. At the basic research institutions (mainly the universities) there should be established research-academies; a specific organization for researcher-education.

Improved productivity on institution-level by:

- bigger units
- management by objectives
- more clear distinction of responsibility between academic/scientific and administrative personnel
- strengthening the academic/scientific leadership function
- promotions based on regular review of competence

The Hernes-report as a whole, is an extensive evaluation of Norwegian higher education and research. It is critical of the way Norway is using her resources in this field today, but at the same time optimistic if the recommendations in the report are followed up.

The Committee finds that a complete reorientation from a total system-perspective is needed. This reorientation will be an extra challenge today because the Norwegian society will face strong reorganizing forces during the coming years. These forces will include, among others, the knowledge explosion, internationalization and demographic changes. The qualitative goals for higher education and research have to take these forces into consideration (ibid, p.7).

The Hernes-report seems to have had a fairly strong influence on thinking and action both in the Government and in the institutions, particularly in the universities. Just days after the presentation of the Hernes-report, there followed another important report on teacher education in colleges and universities (NOU 1988: 32). This report, entitled the Johannessen report, recommended that the basic teacher education should be strengthened by extending it to four years, and that more weight should be put on the subjects representing basic knowledge.

It seems that there is a change in balance, from the subject of pedagogy/education to classical academic subjects, rooted in the sciences and humanities. Teacher education is seen as perhaps the most important precondition for raising the level of competence in primary and secondary schools, thus creating a better foundation for the recruitment to higher education and research. Of special interest for our topic is the Committee's strong concern about the importance of raising the teaching qualifications of university-teachers (the same concern in the Hernes-report).

There are four specific recommendations on university-teaching:

1. There should be introduced compulsory training in "university-pedagogy" for all new appointments, except for those who could document that they already have acquired the qualifications.
2. The merit-system at the universities should be changed in a way that make teaching qualifications really important, in the completion for appointments (tenure) and promotions.

3. There should be introduced systematic evaluation routines for the teaching at universities.
4. There should be established a professional counselling service, to advise university teachers on pedagogy-questions.

An Official Perspective on Evaluation of Higher Education

A comprehensive, principal view of the internal logic of higher education and evaluation is expressed by one of the directors in the Department of Education and Research (Johansen, 1989). Speaking at the University Council's "Workshop on Evaluation", the director makes clear the legal and political premises for seeing evaluation as both an instrument for internal management, and a way of improving the distribution of resources among institutions.

There are three main reasons for the Department's strong interest in evaluation right now. First, there is the new University-Act, where the aim-paragraph has been changed. The universities' main task is now education/teaching where earlier research was the first priority. The change was seen as a strong political signal from the Minister himself and has been referred to as "a conscious symbol-action". The universities ought to be more concentrated on the task of education. On the other hand, there has been critical reaction to the change, questioning the logic of this change. More specifically, the critics are pointing out that all education/teaching at universities is based on research and the production of knowledge. In other words, research provides the contents to be taught and disseminated in other ways. Either way, the Department now wants to have information on how the universities take care of both education and research.

The second reason for the current interest in evaluation is that the Government's Long-Term-Programme 1990-93, has expressed a strong need for quality in future research and education. This is seen as important both for the single individual, and for the nations'

competitive force. The main organizational means to obtain quality are management by objectives and systematic evaluation.

Thirdly, there is the Government's budget-reform, which has as a general principle that the distribution of resources in the public sector, should also be managed by objectives, plans and results. This principle means decentralization of decision-making which gives the Department the challenge of finding new ways of getting the necessary information and knowledge about the education sector. Three strategies are announced (ibid.). These include education statistics, research on decentralized decision-making, and evaluation.

At the institutional level, activity-planning is seen as crucial for the internal management function, and as a basis for communication between the institution and the Department, about goals and results. Activity-planning and management by objectives will, at the same time, require a system for following up results. The need for follow-up on results is another reason that evaluation is so important.

Evaluation is an ongoing, reflective process, which is certainly not new. What is new, is the idea that it has to be systematic, and that it is the last link in a logical chain, starting with the Department's objective of improved productivity for the country, leading to management by objectives, activity-planning, measured results, and evaluation, and ending with obtaining information about the relationship between objective and result. One of the difficulties related to this rationality is, of course, the fear of concentrating too much on what is easy to measure. The Department (ibid.) expresses awareness of this dilemma, and suggests that it might be a research-challenge in itself. The hope is that it is possible to harmonize the management and quality aspects. There have been accusations from scholars that activity-planning, management by objectives and evaluation will be serious threats to the traditional and politically stated value of free, basic research. So far, the Department has not come up with convincing arguments against these accusations.

The constructive suggestions from the Department, are inspired by Dutch experiences on "peer review" as a form of evaluation that might be acceptable to all actors involved. The follow-up-idea could be that of appointing a specialist-group with the task of assessing the following: Which criteria should the Department require for an acceptable internal evaluation at institution-level? How could a system of external evaluators be justified? And, which criteria should such an external evaluation have to meet? It follows from this way of thinking that there is an apparent need for indicators on relevant use of resources in higher education, and ideas and models for assessing the pedagogy of higher education.

Evaluation of Teaching at University Level

The Department of Education and Research's concern about higher education, is followed up by the appointment of a special committee, in October 1989, to assess how to improve study-organization, teaching and learning at universities and colleges. As its frame of reference, the Committee should use the Hernes and Johannessen reports and the Government's Long-Term-programme 1990-93. The Committee should also take into account relevant experiences from other countries, and assess the need for more research and development work on "university-pedagogy" in order to have better qualifications for university-teachers. The whole mandate is very consistent with the recommendations from the reports referred to earlier. The Committee is expected to deliver its report, no later than June 1, 1990.

Indicators in Higher Education and Research

All the above described initiatives on improving the quality of higher education and research, and of trying to find a "correct" way of distributing resources, have pointed towards the need for indicators to be used as criteria, for goal-attainment and use of resources. In a memo in November, 1989, a group appointed by the Norwegian

University Council, presents a proposal on "parameters for presenting the member-institutions' resources and results". The group is expected to outline principles for describing resources and results both quantitatively and, as far as possible, qualitatively, based on university policy directions. The group is advised to cooperate with the Department and with the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD). The latter has been given the task (by the Department) of reporting on the requirements for establishing a database for education statistics, in this specific field.

The University Council's proposal on parameters is based on the following preconditions:

1. The parameters arrangement has to be independent of the member-institutions' size and organizational structure.
2. The arrangement should, as much as possible, provide real comparison between member-institutions.
3. The arrangement should be linked to evaluation of activities, and to quality of research and teaching.
4. The arrangement of a shared database, requires careful descriptions and definitions, to safeguard equal registration of the same phenomena.

The work group has constructed the following logic, as a basis for presenting concrete parameters at a later time:

I. The member-institutions of the Norwegian University Council have

II/III. through their academic and administrative structure

IV. as their task, to operationalize their institutions aims: research, education, dissemination.

V. For these aims there are given the following types of resources:

- faculty positions
- expenses of running

- space and furniture
- scientific equipment.

These resources make the member-institutions capable of

- doing research
- disseminating knowledge
- offering study programmes
- recruiting students
- organizing examinations
- keeping up the necessary infrastructure.

VI. There should be established capacity-data in addition to the normal money-budget, and result-data; partly to see that the activities are towards the decided aims and partly to move the focus from relation-figures to cost figures and other goal-figures, that clarifies effectivity in the organization.

VII. Through their activities the member-institutions will "produce" results in research and education. These results will now be more systematically reported. Results are: 1) R- and D-projects and publications; and 2) Examinations/certificates and degrees.

VIII. Based on the money-budget, other capacity-data and the results, it should be possible, ideally, to calculate the cost of "producing research, education and dissemination", and the cost of the necessary infrastructure. There will be two main types of costs: 1) Student costs; and 2) Running costs.

IX. The "production" is, however, not only of the quantitative type (costs, effectivity and productivity) but also important is quality. Evaluation of research and education should be an integrated part of activity-planning and yearly reporting, where two specific qualitative measures are: 1) Self evaluation of research; and 2) Self evaluation of study programs and teaching.

As part of the Department's need for information about the institutions, the National Social Science Data Service was asked to outline the conditions for establishing a database for statistics on higher education. In the report, the NSD presents frames for types of information which should be in such a base, resources needed, time-frames for implementing it and administrative problems related to establishing, running and use of the base. The conclusion is that it is quite possible to establish an institution-oriented data-base, to be shared by all public institutions for higher education. Also private institutions could easily be connected to the base.

Reflections

The OECD-review of Norwegian education showed relatively low productivity for higher education and research. The Government, through the Department for Education and Research, appears to have taken this review as a challenge, and has tried to find means to improve productivity, consequently improving the nation's competitive force. Three main strategies have been found relevant to achieving increased productivity: 1) Management by objectives, 2) Activity-Planning, and 3) Evaluation, both internal and external. Each of the three, points towards the inevitable necessity of parameters or indicators of relevant goal attainment (results). As the data in this paper illuminates, fairly dynamic steps are taken both to make the strategies effective, and to find indicators that make possible a rational comparison between resources and results.

Having presented this picture of initiatives, I now deliberately avoid a discussion of these initiatives, and their implications, on their own premises. Instead I will try, very briefly to sketch some controversies brought up by the same initiatives.

Many university-faculties have protested strongly against the Department, and more directly, against the leadership of the single university; against using the logic of productivity on research. One criticism is that the activity of basic research, should be completely

free from any outside interventions. This freedom is seen as the most fundamental and universal (!) principle for a free university in our culture. Related to this argument is the criticism that it is impossible to find indicators on something not yet discovered. To try to use indicators will just reinforce traditional thinking, and will indirectly be negatively sanctioning innovative ideas and hypotheses. On the other hand, politicians and high-ranking administrators might argue that university-faculties are conservative, and have vested interests in defending their absolute autonomy. Consequently, they are given the freedom to do nothing. Along the same line, some administrators might argue that many faculties are in favor of an "anarchistic organization". Is it possible to find strategies for managing universities, and at the same time, let them have absolute autonomy? And, what would be the cost to society of tipping the balance in one direction or the other? This discussion, perhaps, touches upon one of the most basic questions of all: Are we convinced that the knowledge-competitive-strategy, now spreading to most countries, is the right one, for the optimal societal development? Another problem that ought to be the focus of more research, is the content of the concept of 'productivity', related to quantitative and qualitative aspects, respectively. How can increased quality be measured as increased productivity? A third challenge, would be to analyze the strategies of centralized versus decentralized decision-making from he perspectives of open or hidden control in system-management and also, from the perspective of democracy for all.

To predict social-political behavior is impossible. However, it is possible to guess, or make conjugations (to use the Popperian phrase). My guess is that indicators will be developed. Productivity, by OECD-standards, will raise. The dynamic of economic and structural integration in the world as a whole, is too strong to be stopped, and will have locomotive-effect on other sectors, e.g. education and research. At the same time, we will face a development towards the organizational "iron cage", that Max Weber pessimistically pre d for the western world. The pragmatic, and

perhaps more positive point of view, would be to see a developed system where the researchers are sure to have some time and resources for their absolute philosophical free and basic research, as well as some time and resources to work towards criteria put forward by representatives of those paying their salaries.

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Comments: Evaluation of Higher Education in Norway

Robert Cowen

It was a great pleasure to read Professor Tjeldvoll's paper on the evaluation of higher education in Norway. I greatly enjoyed both the written and the verbal accounts, and I will offer no criticisms of his treatment of the theme. However, it is my job to act as a discussant, and therefore I will respond to the material which Professor Tjeldvoll has offered, by commenting on the policy lines which are being followed in Norway.

The first puzzle which attracts my attention is the *politics* of the definition of non-competence. That is, if we are discussing the evaluation of higher education in Norway, there must be an implicit problem: in some fashion the system of higher education must be 'non-competent'. There must be something wrong. What is the Norwegian definition of the non-competence of its higher education system?

I note in the Norwegian case four elements in the definition of non-competence. The first is that of a higher education system which, through time, grew. Along with this growth, came a variety of institutions doing slightly different jobs, and the education system became less coherent than it should be. The second element in the definition of non-competence is the proposition that the Norwegian higher education system is characterized as one of low productivity in terms of its educational role and in terms of research output. This

62

aspect of non-competence is suggested on the basis of OECD evidence. The third aspect of non-competence is the theme of non-harmony of the higher education system with changes in the European Community. And the fourth element I would identify is the theme of "the nation's competitive force", identified in Tjeldvoll's paper.

Of these four elements in the definition of non-competence, one aspect, the historical accretion of the system, is internal and, in a sense, routine, i.e. it affects all higher education systems. The three other elements are externally linked, namely, an OECD criticism of low productivity; changes within the European Community; and the theme of the nation's international competitiveness.

Contrast this Norwegian definition of what is problematic with the situation of other countries. That is, compare the Norwegian situation with the macro-politics of a definition of non-competence in, for example, Poland, or Czechoslovakia, or the German Democratic Republic. In all of these countries political change is occurring rapidly. Major questions are being raised about the nature of the higher education system as a whole, and about the structure of universities, including their structures of governance. Secondly, contrast the Norwegian assessment of non-competence with the rapidly moving events in the USSR, where a major effort at economic restructuring is currently combined with a redefinition of Soviet international relations. Anxieties are being expressed about both the slowness and the speed, of changes in social and political attitudes.

Similarly, one can contrast the intense radicalism of the New Right in British politics, as this has been expressed by Conservative governments over the last decade with the Norwegian situation. The domestic stress within Britain has been on the creation of an efficient and energetic capitalist system of production. Of special concern is the efficiency of British business in the face of international competition and in the Europe-without-barriers which is scheduled for 1992. In the British case the internal politics have identified a large number of blockages to the creation of international economic competitiveness. Among these blockages have been a number of

oligarchies (e.g. the trades unions, as well as some of the established traditional professions, such as the law profession). Among the oligarchies which contradict the development of an enterprise culture, and which are diminishing the ability of the nation to become internationally competitive in economic terms, the universities have been identified as a special area of non-competence.

Without major economic, social and educational reforms, including university reforms, the British nation - in the view of the present Government at least - will be unprepared for this new Europe.

This is not to say, of course, that in some fashion Poland, Czechoslovakia, the USSR and Britain are right in their perceptions of both international relations and the problems which face those nations in the next two decades, in contrast with the Norwegians who are in some fashion wrong. It is, however, to say that in countries such as the USSR and Britain, there has emerged a sharp sense of the consequences of the inter-play between international politics and domestic politics, and in particular, that rather clear views of 'Europe' are beginning to emerge. For example, if I may briefly draw on a distinction which I introduced into yesterday's Round Table discussion, a clear view has emerged of a 'hard' Europe, and a 'soft' Europe.

A 'hard' Europe, I identify as one in which the economic motif is paramount. Thus the opportunity represented by Europe with fewer economic barriers requires major restructuring of economic institutions and attitudes. In contrast, a definition of Europe as 'soft' would imply that educational systems should strengthen their ability to offer a range of languages to young people; should embark on programmes which are aimed at the reduction of ethnocentrism in relation to other nations or minorities within nations; and should see the 'European house' as a very interesting challenge in terms of cultural influences and interactions. In this area Britain, for example, has tended to reject a 'soft' Europe as being of lesser importance than the 'hard' Europe. The initial reaction of the British Government to the Lingua programme, and the relative reluctance of

British universities and British students to participate in the ERASMUS programme (as compared with the very rapid response of British government agencies to Tempus programmes) are indications of the rather low level of activity which is being undertaken in terms of a single 'soft' Europe.

In contrast with these relatively clear perceptions, the Norwegian stance may be sketched. As I understand the paper offered by Professor Tjeldvoll, the Norwegian view is that the situation is urgent, but the politics through which the situation is being viewed are non-ideological. In the macro-politics of the Norwegian perspective, the issues are recognized as those of external educational relations and of external educational harmonization. But the crisis is not recognized as a core or central crisis of the society and the economy; and although the macro-politics of the Norwegian perspective involves a recognition of the economics of external relations, by implication there is considerable confidence in existing internal economic structures. Thus the Norwegian politics of non-competence identify the university sector as a specific problem, but in so doing recognize only a limited, or technical problem, rather than a socio-economic crisis. The Norwegian perspective is rooted neither in a perception of a 'hard' Europe nor in a perception of a 'soft' Europe.

My second main point is organized around the question: what is the *sociology* of the non-competence identified by the Norwegians?

Here I would like to identify two sub-themes. The first sub-theme is the sociology of the external educational relations of non-competence. Here I suggest that the Norwegian problem is construed as a sociology of exclusion; and as a technical problematic within a sociology of exclusion. Thus the Norwegian proposals are: to map educational co-operation within the European Community; to explore possibilities of educational co-operation; to specify educational equivalences within the European Community; and to investigate possibilities of mobility. This is a technical definition of a problem of harmonization, in a situation in which Norway is perceived to be

outside the European Community, but needs certain kinds of limited links and limited relations with it.

The second sub-theme is the internal sociology of educational non-competence. Here I suggest that the Norwegians have limited the problem to a sociology of the massification of the higher education system. For example, the policies being proposed are to increase the financing which is available for student recruitment; to improve housing and welfare facilities; to increase the recruitment of certain kinds of persons (e.g. women) within an overall recruitment drive. Proposals are also made to improve the organization of study programmes, to develop better teaching and modes of student evaluation, to improve pedagogy, and to increase the frequency of international student and staff exchanges. A further proposal within the internal massification of the higher education system is to reprioritise the teaching and educative function of the system, placing this before its role in doing research. Where there are blockages, these are attributed to the professorate. Thus the professors are a bit of a nuisance because of their insistence on their absolute right to do research of the kind that they chose, and there are some doubts about their competence to teach well.

In other words these proposals that measures should be taken to improve access; to improve education and study programmes inside the system, and to re-priorities the balance between research and teaching, are proposals in terms of the fine-tuning of a higher educational system which was once 'elitist' and which now needs to be (what may loosely be called) a mass higher educational system.

If the Norwegians construe the problematic of their education system in these ways, what are the missing dimensions of the problem? (And one notes that if there are missing dimensions to the problem, there are likely to be missing dimensions to the solution.)

First, there is no clear socio-economic specification of the nature of a changing Europe. In the Norwegian conceptualization, Europe is neither 'hard' nor 'soft', but it is Europe which poses a problem

in terms of educational equivalences, and it is Europe to which Norway is linked in terms of the weak theory of international relations. Second, there is no clear specification of an alternative Europe. For example there is no clear proposal in the Norwegian discussion for a Nordic Europe; nor are there proposals for regional cooperation; nor for that matter are there any other major proposals about international cooperation. The Norwegian policy proposals come close to having no theory of international political and economic relations at all. The third characteristic in terms of the missing dimensions of the problem is that there is no clear formulation of the cultural specificities of Norway itself. The theme of regions within Norway is raised briefly, but other themes which might reasonably be expected to draw attention (such as a concern over problems of rural areas and the education appropriate for them, or proposals in terms of a cultural defence of Norway and the kind of education that might contribute to that) are missing.

Here the counterpoint would be with Canada, where there is concern both for the regional issue and for various forms of Canadian cultural defence; or with Japan, which historically has concerned itself very much with the intersection of 'Eastern morality and Western technique'; or for that matter comparisons may be drawn with Scotland and Wales, where understandings have developed about the significance of education in defending national or regional identity.

The overall missing dimension, then, is that the Norwegian policy proposals are offered, at least in the texts specified in Professor Tjeldvoll's paper, within a social vacuum. There is no feeling for local contextualities in Norway, nor even a clear view of the international and internal conceptions of the economic market in which Norway must survive.

The fourth point which I would like to raise is a little narrower. It is a comment upon the definition of the educational problematic which faces Norway, and a comment upon some of the probable consequences, within education, of the Norwegian proposals.

The recent Norwegian policy proposals suggest something not very far short of a complete redefinition of university culture. That is, the Norwegian policy proposals simultaneously (a) re-prioritizes the balance between education and teaching on the one hand, and research on the other, whilst they also (b) re-emphasize the significance of basic research. This raises all sorts of interesting issues.

Within the Norwegian proposals, the stress upon education and teaching (as compared with research) implies a heavy stress on the importance of assessment of faculty's teaching by students. The Norwegian proposals imply that a training system aimed at improving the practical teaching of university academics (and a counselling system for those university academics who teach rather poorly) will have to be developed. In addition, there are explicit proposals for: the development of research units; the strengthening of academic leadership functions; a change in promotion procedures; large departmental units; and management by objectives.

In practice, these multiple reforms are likely to produce changes in terms of the division of academic labor. For example, the new stress upon the significance of university teaching will involve the compulsory training of university teachers and the development of new promotion procedures. University teaching will rise to new standards of competence and what will have developed is a new (and difficult) role at a very high level of specialization. It is unlikely that this commitment to, and level of competence in, university teaching could be sustained, if at the same time there were pressures on academic staff to produce first rate research. Other systems of higher education, of course, have faced this kind of problem and these kinds of pressures. For example, it is noticeable in the United States that these pressures have emerged, on the one hand from students who pay quite a lot of money to study in the universities, and on the other hand through demands from a range of external agencies that United States universities engage in research. The United States' solution has been a division of academic labor between, for example, liberal arts

colleges, which often sustain a very high standard of undergraduate instruction, and the university and PhD-awarding sectors of higher education, where there has developed a wide range of research professorships and a great deal of teaching by graduate students. In other words these twin pressures, to produce good research and to produce good teaching, have in the United States produced institutional differentiation. This is not to say that the American solution is appropriate for Norway. It is however to draw attention to the fact that the ambitious policy aims of the Norwegian proposals are likely to produce a crisis in terms of a new division of academic labor, and a new and detailed specification of the roles of university teachers.

In placing such considerable emphasis upon high levels of quality in university teaching, the probability is raised that a new category of skill will need to be developed within the Norwegian higher education system. It is likely that specialist assessors will have to be trained, paid, and have their work recognized for promotion purposes. Thus, for example if there is a need for people who counsel other university staff about university teaching, then these counsellors too will need a career structure, and, if the counselling role is to include assessment, then training for that will also be needed. Overall, what the Norwegian proposals imply is a social process for the organized measurement of peer reputation within the university hierarchy. This will be a new process, in which precise measurement will replace the routines of peer evaluation with more amateurish perspectives; e.g. academic gossip.

The third implication in terms of division of labor within the higher education system of Norway, is the probability that a division of institutional labor will begin to emerge. In many university systems, life has been competitive at the level of individuals. That is, individual academics compete with each other for promotion, etc. The implications of the Norwegian reforms, which stress both teaching and research, are that individual competition will be replaced by institutional competition. Institutions will develop

specialized functions, and will compete with each other in terms of publicly stated criteria of good output.

These new divisions of academic labor will be difficult to implement. Clearly, the policies have already been formulated. However, given the inertias and the rigidities of any large system of institutions, a missing factor here is the financial formula which will alter or transmute competition: from competition between individuals within a particular institution, to competition between institutions within the higher education sector. It is not clear from the Norwegian proposals what these financial formulae will be. It is possible that very little detailed attention has been given to this theme.

However, the theme is extremely important, because financial instability is one of the crucial characteristics of turning a stable system of higher education into a flexible one.

I can illustrate this point rather better by stepping back from the immediate detail of the Norwegian policy proposals, and placing some of the themes I have been talking about, e.g. division of academic labor, institutional competition, the balance between teaching and research, in a broader perspective.

How can we reflect more broadly on the theme of university structures, in countries which are undergoing a series of reforms of university and higher education evaluation processes? For analytic purposes, it is useful to distinguish two versions of what has been called in the literature, following David Riesman, 'the academic procession'. I will distinguish, through the use of an extended metaphor, between institutions of higher education, and especially universities, which are framed in two modes: the Raider mode, and the Tribal Community mode.

In the Raider metaphor, the university may be seen as essentially a piratical organization. Within this framework, a distinction may be drawn between the way in which the Raiding University shapes the individuals who work within it, and the way in which the institution itself is framed and structured.

Individuals within the Raiding University are encouraged to take up an extreme form of individual entrepreneurialism, which is expressed in a variety of ways. For example, the success of individuals is evaluated in terms of gaining externally-funded research contracts. The most successful individuals may indeed be awarded special research professorships, which are often funded by external agencies. The individual is subjected to quantitative accounting, which stresses the amount of 'prize money' that the individual has gained. Excellent academic entrepreneurs from other institutions are persuaded by variety of means (such as high salary, time allocated for research, and large numbers of graduate assistants) to transfer their allegiance to the Raiding University.

Within the Raiding University a sharp distinction can be drawn between what Riesman once called 'the locals' and 'the cosmopolitans'. Permit me to alter Riesman's usage. The locals are those who serve the Raiding University for some considerable time, are concerned with faculty or departmental affairs, and who often take on a considerable amount of responsibility in terms of keeping the institution itself functioning, by sitting on committees, etc. The cosmopolitans are those whose definitions of their own work are influenced by their individual reputations outside of the Raiding University, in professional networks, in conference attendance, and in research output which draws national (or international) attention. Thus for the individual in the Raiding University there is a premium on physical mobility, in terms of moving between sets of Raiding Universities, and speed of career. From the individual point of view it is fundamentally important to make the institution, in this instance the Raiding University, irrelevant. Evidently, such a system of higher education and especially university education requires, as a precondition, that it be a large system in which there are many such institutions.

Within the Raiding University, students are perceived very much as a source of fee-income, and by extension, students themselves are seen as opportunity-choosers among a range of Raiding Universities.

In this sense, students themselves are raiders. Such students will keep in mind the advantages of working for some time in a very successful institution. In the event that the institution ceases to be quite so successful, the university students are likely to transfer quickly to more successful institutions.

From an institutional point of view the Raiding University may be perceived as a major business corporation. Within these institutions University Presidents are not only formally insecure in their contractual arrangements, but are expected, normatively, to be successful or to leave. In the extreme version, the Raiding University is a multi-national business corporation. Thus the Raiding University takes both the national and the international as its working arenas. Its task is to be visible through a measurable output in terms of, for example, Nobel Prizes, PhDs, books, and articles in major journals, at both national and international levels, whilst of course also dominating the local educational environment.

Within the Raiding University, it is of great importance that the resource-base for research be flexible, and that the institution itself be entrepreneurial in terms of grants from, for example, national agencies which allocate monies to research. It is important also that successful fund-raising is managed through alumni - which itself is partly a function of the economic success and contacts of the alumni group. Raiding Universities develop specialized sub-structures, or infrastructures, in terms of nursing a range of research clients who might include big industry and the military, as well as locally-based funding agencies and the national foundations. Thus the social responsiveness of the Raiding University is in terms of those who can pay.

Overall then, the institutional consequences of framing oneself as a Raiding University include: centrality of organization for measurement of output, including academic output; mechanisms for the anticipation of opportunity; and procedures and processes devoted to the administration of opportunity. The central characteristics of the Raiding University are: instability of reputation; instability of

reward; and, from the point of view of both the external and internal workings of the parts of the university, instability of resource supply. In other words, a prerequisite of a model of the Raiding University working well is an insecure financial base; strong external relations; and also strong exogenous threats in terms of failure leading to further failure (i.e. withdrawal of resources), and success leading to further success (i.e. an increase in external funding).

The extended metaphor of the Raiding University may be contrasted with the metaphor of the university as a Tribal Community.

The sociological characteristics of the Tribal Community University are also distinguishable at the levels of the perspective of the individual, and the perspective of the institution.

The individual within the Tribal Community University is primarily charged with cultural tasks, both in the broader sense of the definition and creation of national and local level cultures, and in the sense of the definition and creation of academic cultures. But within this general role, an important distinction may be drawn. Cultural transmission, the confirmation and diffusion of cultural messages to the young, who are the students, will be placed in the hands of the tribal elders, who in the Tribal Community University are typically Assistant, Associate, or full Professors. However, it may also be the case that the redefinition of the academic culture - in this instance the research role - undergoes a division of labor which stresses the duty and the right of full Professors in particular to indulge in research. Indeed in some Tribal Community Universities, contractual distinctions may be drawn between the most senior of the Elders and the more junior members of the Elder Group, in terms of the balance of their work between teaching and research.

Cultural defence of the broader kind (e.g. comment on national issues from historians), is also the duty of the Tribal Community University. And for the purposes of insulating the Elders in their reflective communion on the nature of tribal problems, it is frequently the case that universities are located in semi-sacrosanct

places, far away from major cities. Thus the locale of the university itself becomes a holy place, drawing acolytes and admirers who stand in awe of the institutional charisma. It is also likely that the Tribal Community University will suffer from tribal xenophobia vis à vis for example government agencies, industry, the military, and even social extension work into the local community.

For the individual the social and academic relations within the Tribal Community University are based on tradition, internal definitions of excellence, most noticeably finely graded judgments based on discussion of scholarly output among peers. Thus the modes of assessment inside the Tribal Community University are personalized peer assessment, in which the nature of an individual's academic profile is transmuted from the raw material of quantitative output into a definition of qualitative output, via tribal assumptions about - to borrow a phrase from Basil Bernstein - appropriate academic conduct, academic character, and academic manner. Promotion is via peers, but it is a highly personalized promotion, and reputation inside the Tribal Community University is far more important than reputation outside it.

The fundamental underpinning of the Tribal Community University is a stable economic base, both internally (e.g. between departments) and externally in terms of the government or the state. It is this steady economic base which permits the refined academic judgments inside the tribe. There is of course the possibility of internal redistribution of resources within the tribe, but these are subject less to quantitative criteria than to qualitative peer assessment and the collective wisdom of discussion among the tribal Elders.

The institutional characteristics of the Tribal Community University are relatively simple. The older tribal communities are the best, and mobility between tribal communities is low. Competition between tribal units is implicit rather than explicit, and inter-tribal reputation is not directly linked to finance. Institutionally, the tribe is insulated against external pressures. There is however a theory of international relations between tribes, in the sense that although tribes

themselves carefully nurse their individual institutional identities, it is well understood that the only important lines of communications are with other Elders in other Tribes. Thus the social responsibility of the Tribal Community University is primarily limited to communication with others about the accumulation of collected wisdom. Thus the external relations of the Tribal Community University are slightly xenophobic and highly specialized.

The two metaphors sketched above assist us in understanding some of the current developments in many higher education systems, including the Norwegian situation. Among the reform processes implicit in evaluation, which they permit us to locate more securely, are the following:

First, the implications of the stratification of the academic profession. Institutionally, the Raider University encourages this stratification, especially a stratification between teachers and researchers. In contrast, in the Tribal Community University, there is encouragement to combine the acts of cultural redefinition and cultural transmission in the form of researchers who are teachers, or teachers who are researchers.

Second, organized and bureaucratized modes of evaluation in the Raider University will typically already be part of the institutional pattern. However, the insertion of organized and bureaucratized modes of evaluation into the Tribal University system is the insertion of the public, the external and the quantitative into what have hitherto been modalities of evaluation which are internal and private. Cultural shock will occur.

Third, the insertion of evaluation into the Tribal Community University creates a special problem, because hitherto evaluation has been done on the basis of the collected wisdom of the Elders. The insertion of organized and bureaucratic evaluation modes means the creation of a new sub-group of specialists trained in particular skills, who will be in role conflict with those socialized into trusting the Judgement of the Elders - who may now themselves be judged.

Fourth, the insertion of public modes of evaluation into the Tribal Community University means that institutions can now be measured on explicit criteria which permit placing the tribes in a publicly-known ranking order. This new public ranking of institutions will break up the ranking based on historical reputation. And this begins to tip Tribal University into styles of institutional behavior which are more appropriate within the Raiding metaphor.

In such a situation, the options available to defend the Tribal Community University are limited. One option is the refusal of the possibility of evaluation - a denial, for example, of the possibilities of measuring future creation, or the denial of the legitimacy of such an exercise now or in the future. The other main option of the Tribal Community University is damage limitation, i.e. to accept evaluation schemes which affect individuals within it, but to resist strongly (e.g. through Tribal Solidarity) efforts to increase the measurement of inter-institutional evaluation.

We can now recontextualise one of the central themes which I suggested was important in the ways in which the Norwegians had construed their higher education problematic: the shift from an elite to a mass system.

In the higher education literature of the 1960s, the main way in which this issue was addressed was dichotomously, with a concern for definitions of elite and mass higher education, especially elite and mass universities. The distinctions between the two were primarily in terms of the numbers of students who were admitted. By the 1970s, a parallel theme in the debate was the newer institutions emerging in higher education, such as short-cycle higher education, and variations on the theme of community colleges, polytechnic and universities. In other words, the theme was one of binary or tripartite higher education systems.

I suggest that particularly towards the end of the 1980s the themes of elite and mass higher education have again altered their focus. We are now thinking about the massification of higher

education institutions, including universities, in terms of the styles of competition between institutions, as the processes of 'rationalization' in the Weberian sense are worked out.

In the Norwegian case I suggest that these themes are present, and are very much affected by the theme of evaluation of higher education. Thus the theme of the defence of academic freedom, which is clearly of concern to Norwegian academics at this present moment, takes on a particular formation within this debate.

The bottom line on the theme of academic freedom is that in the terms in which the Norwegians are discussing educational policy, academic freedom is no longer socially valued and socially protected. What it may be necessary to do, is to work out the ways in which academic freedom may be defended inside the universities. What has been left unclear, not only in the Norwegian debate but in most others, is that under the new pressures to create the Raiding University, and to be responsive to the needs of economic growth in society within a competitive Europe, the university itself must note the costs which are attached to the label 'academic freedom'. In other words, if research resources are to be diverted from useful and applied research to basic and theoretical research, it is now the university, in a cost-effective world, which must decide how much of its resources it is prepared to divert to basic and theoretical research. It is the university which must now pay the price of academic freedom in terms of the internal allocation of its own internal resources. 'Academic freedom' is no longer a socially and economically very privileged idea.

Evaluation of Higher Education in Sweden

Urban Dahllöf

Introduction

As in all other countries, evaluation in Swedish higher education can be analyzed on at least three levels:

1. In terms of examination of *individual students* in relation to stated course demands.
2. In terms of an assessment on the middle level of *study programs* and departments in a number of respects to be specified below.
3. In terms of the *whole system*, its main components and their internal relationships as well as in comparison with other countries operating their systems under similar economic and cultural conditions.

Moreover, the discussion might - hopefully - be somewhat more elucidating if we, from the beginning, pay attention to

- some *structural characteristics* that distinguish Swedish higher education from those of other countries, and
- the specific overarching *goals* and *missions* that form the basis for at least some of the structural components.

Some Specific Characteristics

Space does not permit us to go into details about the historical background of the specific characteristics to be emphasized below. General references in English are among others L. G. Svensson (1987).

The Swedish system of higher education does of course share many characteristics with other countries. But there are a few specific missions and structures, the very combination of which, leads to specific problems and challenges for an evaluation of the system's relevance and effectiveness. Among these, the following should be particularly emphasized:

- When entering higher education, Swedish students are somewhat older than those of most other countries, since Swedish schooling does not start until the age of seven. The great majority of the new entrants have spent a total of 12 years at school (which makes at least the age of 19 for university entrance). Moreover, a great many of the students have acquired some additional work experience and many of the males have made a year of military service.
- Swedish policy has since the late 1960s encouraged a pattern of recurrent education as a means; to bridge the generation gap in educational opportunities, to even out social inequalities; and to strengthen the quality and competitiveness of the Swedish work-force by means of further education programs.

Consequently, adults (or "mature students") are a specific target group both as *first time entrants* (to basic degree programs or specific courses) and as *re-entrants* for further education purposes (see Abrahamsson 1986).

- Two different kinds of programs are, in certain faculties, offered parallel to each other, namely (1) full degree programs leading to a certain professional or semi-professional competence, (2) independent courses, each of

them lasting for no more than one semester.

- Students accepted to a full degree program are guaranteed a study place throughout the whole study-time, while applications to independent courses only lead to a place guarantee for the specific course. However, independent courses may be combined to accumulate to a full degree (under certain conditions), and in such a case the student has to make a new application every time he wishes to register for a new course.
- Access to most full degree programs is gained through a screening at a national level for which high-school marks and additional credits for work experience play the greatest role in a quite formalized point system of calculation, as a basis for the ranking order between applicants.

Entry to independent courses is gained through local admission boards that have a greater freedom to give priority to those students who have demonstrated a need to take a specific course.

- In order to meet the needs of adults in a recurrent education phase parallel to full-time or part-time work, a great number of the independent courses are offered at a slow pace (i.e. the teaching sessions of one semester course are spread out over two semesters), as evening classes (sometimes also decentralized) or in a distance education mode.

In Sweden, all higher education is integrated into one main administrative system of universities and university colleges, supervised by the National Board of Universities and Colleges in Stockholm under the Ministry of Education. (The University of Agriculture is the only exception). All colleges and universities use the same credit system and there is a general transferability of credits between all kinds of institutions.

The education programs can roughly be divided into:

- short cycle programs shorter than 3 years' duration
- full degree programs of at least 3 years.

In 1986/87, 44 per cent of all new study places were offered as part of a short cycle program (see Dahllöf 1989a, Table 2:1).

- At the regional level there is at least one university college in each of the 24 counties offering a number of short-cycle or full-degree undergraduate programs as well as some independent courses.
- Postgraduate studies in several faculties and a great variety of undergraduate programs are offered by universities or certain independent institutes at six university sites (Uppsala, Lund, Göteborg, Stockholm, Umeå and Linköping). A seventh site, Luleå in the north, has a research faculty and offers postgraduate studies in engineering sciences.
- Most undergraduate programs are taught by senior lecturers who should hold a doctorate but who have a high teaching load (12 hours a week) that does not give them time for research unless they qualify for a research leave. At the universities the professors are in charge of the postgraduate programs and supervise doctoral dissertations. In some faculties they also participate to some extent in the teaching of undergraduates. All in all their teaching load amounts to 4 hours a week, to which should be added an unlimited amount of supervision.
- At both the undergraduate and the postgraduate levels a sequential order of courses is practiced. So in most cases the students concentrate on only one course at any given time.

Examination Procedures and Problems

Individual students are being subjected to a written or an oral examination at the end of each course. The course teacher is the examiner. No external examiners are used for any assessment of individual students.

However, an indirect quality control of student outcomes is exercised by the faculty boards since they have to approve the credit

allocation to and the main contents of the different courses in a program. Decisions about course readings are generally delegated by the faculty boards to the various departments and their boards.

Only for national programs of teaching, medicine and similar professions dealing with the health or welfare of individual clients are the study programs controlled by the National Board of Universities and Colleges with respect to the structure of courses and the allocation of credits to them.

An exception to the pattern outlined above is the examination of doctoral dissertations. They take place in public. An "opponent", invited by the faculty board, discusses the thesis and its problematic points with the respondent. Before the session is closed, the floor is opened for anybody in the public who wants to put forward any remarks. Then an examination board, nominated by the faculty board, examines the thesis in terms of pass or fail. The supervisor has no voting right at the occasion.

In general, the quality control of individual examinations cannot be said to be strong in Sweden. The student is entirely in the hands of the teacher of the course. However, certain faculties, e.g. in medicine, have taken deliberate steps to improve their examination forms and a number of faculties in Research and Development Units periodically offered workshops for the training of academic teachers in making good examinations.

As underlined by Berit Askling the lack in quality control of individual examinations is problematic not only in general but also in "new" programs that, from 1977, were incorporated in the enlarged system of universities and colleges, as one of the most important parts of the higher education reform (see Dahllöf 1977; Premfors & Östergren 1978). It may be argued that the "new" programs, thus, do not get the necessary support to become more "academic" in the good sense of the word, that means an increased emphasis on the research base of the knowledge transmitted.

The problem may even be critical within the traditional programs of a university, since many of the undergraduate courses are taught by lecturers without sufficient opportunities to do research of their own within their working-load. And also epistemological and curricular issues are connected with the relation between theory and practice in training programs for the professions at universities and colleges. This problem was recently discussed at a meeting in Uppsala with the European vice-chancellors' and presidents' association (see Becher 1989; Dahllöf 1989b).

Evaluation at the Middle Level of Programs and Departments

The examination issues discussed above deal with the assessment of individual students, their progress and learning outcomes. On the other extreme we have the whole national system of higher education, its structure and function in relation to political goals and national needs. And in the middle of these two extremes we have the main components of the system in terms of universities and colleges, whose departments for teaching and research carry the ultimate responsibility for the different programs and courses within the academic disciplines. When we discuss evaluation practices at this middle level of Swedish higher education, we have first to clarify relationships between two main approaches, the one focused on the programs and the other on the departments. Another problem concerns the difference between internal and external evaluation. In the former the goals are given, in the latter they are questioned.

The relation between a program and a department approach. Evaluation at the program level means in this connection an assessment of certain characteristics related to a particular study program - irrespective of duration - or independent course. Thus, the arena for the evaluation is located at the department level, since the departments are - at least in the Swedish system - the units that carry

the ultimate responsibility for the detailed planning and realization of all academic teaching as well as for the examination of the students.

Since in Sweden most study programs - in contrast to independent courses - are served by several departments, an evaluation of for example a full-degree program has to include several departments, their respective roles and staffing policies as well as their interaction (if any). For such purpose it is often most relevant to approach the problems of contents and methods from the main target groups' point of view, i.e. the students.

But quite often a specific department is involved in more than one full study program at the same time as it offers a number of independent courses, some of which may be an introduction to the discipline (level A in the Swedish administrative terminology, corresponding to the first semester's study). Other independent courses may be more advanced, corresponding to the second (B) or third (C) semester's level. A completed C-level course is the basic requirement for entry to postgraduate studies. Sometimes also a D-level course is offered.

Also when the department is in the focus of an evaluation, a student perspective may be appropriate, but it is in addition relevant to pay special attention to the staff management problems with respect to the total competence available and the actual allocation of the different staff members' teaching and supervision responsibilities. An approach centered on the department does also more readily lend itself to an evaluation of research.

According to the Swedish administrative terminology, an independent "course" corresponds to one semester's study. Similarly, a course within a full-degree professional program usually means a relatively comprehensive content area offered by one of the departments involved. Quite often a department may offer several courses in such a program, particularly the so-called "host-department" whose director of studies coordinates the whole program.

Both independent courses and courses within a program oriented towards a specific professional or para-professional competence, may be divided into sub-courses, that often are taught by different teachers. It goes without saying that also sub-courses may be subject to evaluation with respect both to their relevance for the totality and their effectiveness, but the principles are basically the same. Since the challenges for a more encompassing evaluation at the program and department level are greater and less well recognized, preference is here given to that level.

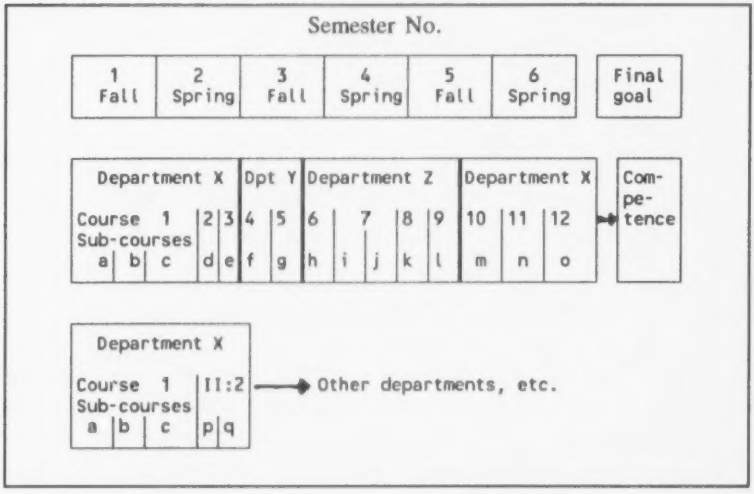

Figure 1 The main structure of a typical Swedish full-degree program oriented towards a professional or paraprofessional competence.

The relationship between a program and a department evaluation is further illustrated by Figure 1 and Figure 2 respectively. In Figure 1 it should be observed, that one of the departments (X) is assumed to have teaching responsibilities for two separate sequences

of courses (1-3 and 10-12) and corresponding sub-courses in one of the programs (I) as well as for a minor part of another program (II) as shown in Figure 2. In principle an evaluation of a study program leads to an emphasis on the student flow from the beginning of a program towards the final competence. One of the challenges is the relationships between departments, courses and sub-courses with respect to the cognitive approaches to and overlap (or even gaps) between the different content areas that constitute the components of the total program.

Already these considerations make it clear why an evaluation cannot confine itself only to an assessment of final outputs in terms of knowledge, skills and/or attitudes. Instead, a "horizontal" evaluation has to take into consideration a detailed account of the total "curriculum exposure" in terms of:

- *what* contents have been offered to the students
- by *whom* (departments, courses and teachers)
- by *what methods* (including the balance between lecturing, exercises and self-studies)
- under *what frame or conditions* with respect to total time at disposal, personnel and material resources and
- at *what* costs.

When all the activities within a department are going to be considered (Figure 2), the emphasis of the evaluation turns from the horizontal to the vertical dimension, focusing on the contributions made by different staff members, the allocation of teaching, supervision and research duties among them by the head of department or director of studies. But at the same time the horizontal dimension is still relevant with respect to what is offered to the students within each program and course offered by the department.

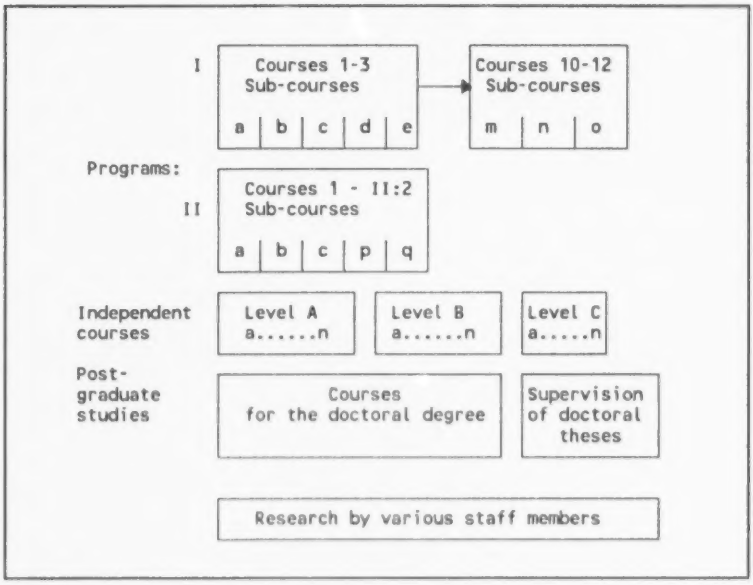

Figure 2 The basis for an evaluation of a department, assumed to be one of those (x) participating in the study programs outlined in Figure 1.

Internal and external evaluations. By internal evaluation is here, meant an analysis that examines a program, a course or a department and their efficiency in relation to the set goals.

An external evaluation concentrates on the relation between the educational system in terms of programs or departments on the one hand and the surrounding society on the other. This relationship has two main components:

(1) The actual input or (rather) *inflow* of students in relation to different possible target groups. In evaluation terms this means an emphasis on analysis of the student enrollments.

(2) The intended out-puts or goals in relation to the competence needs in society. These may both be represented by demands in disciplinary terms for postgraduate studies at a higher level of training and as labor market demands within certain professions or occupations. In both cases the emphasis is on the *relevance* of the program contents in qualitative terms - the curriculum profile - but also a quantitative dimension about the number of graduates of a certain specialization may be involved.

From a methodological point of view the relevance issues may be approached in two principal ways: (i) One may undertake inquiries about labor market demands now, and in the future, by means of a systematic job-analysis, experts' assessments of needs etc., and (ii) Follow-up studies of graduates or alumni may provide information about the actual function of the program in the field. It should be heavily underlined that the design of evaluation procedures has to be varied with respect to the kind and context of the specific program under analysis.

A general model. The preceding discussion may be summarized as in Figure 3, where the two kinds of external evaluation are shown in the vertical dimension, while the internal evaluation corresponds to a horizontal analysis.

The terms internal and external evaluations are used here to denote the principal dimensions and issues involved in different kinds of approaches. Both kinds of studies may be performed in an 'in-house' manner by the staff of the institutions as a kind of self-assessment or by experts outside (or external to) the institution as in the so-called 'peer-review procedures'.

A much more detailed account of issues particularly related to internal evaluation as an information basis for the improvement of teaching in higher education is given in a report under preparation for the program of Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE) within OECD in Paris, which is going to be released

towards the end of 1990. An important part of the message put forward there is the need for an evaluation aiming at improvements, to be able to provide valid explanations of shortcomings and difficulties that can form the basis for changes in policy and implementation strategies. That leads in turn to a demand for understanding how and why the different components in the chain of teaching-learning events between inputs and outputs actually hang together. A theoretical understanding of such relationships is, thus, an excellent tool of management.

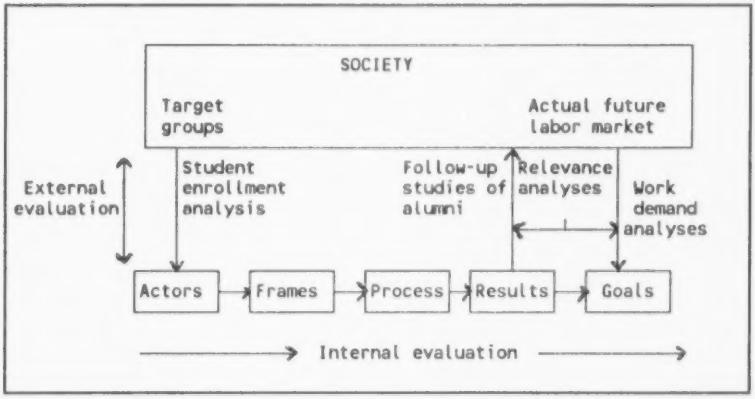

Figure 3 Main kinds of evaluation studies in higher education.

Swedish evaluation practices. For the present moment, Swedish policy makers in higher education are in a process of developing new and better approaches to evaluation both because of an increased need for accountability and in connection with specific decentralization efforts. A greater local autonomy means higher demands on an evaluation of programs and departments both in the internal and external dimension. The following remarks should be regarded as a complement to the basic report by Bauer (1988).

Up to now most of the practice in evaluation has been concentrated on full-degree programs and mainly on quantitative characteristics according to indicators of

- number of applicants
- applicants per study place, particularly "first preference applications" per study place and university/college
- minimum grade point average (GPA) among the new entrants
- actual enrollments in relation to total number of available study places
- pass-rates in per cent of the new entrants in a given cohort
- "credits earned" in relation to expected credit earnings given the number of students enrolled in terms of so-called full-time equivalents (FTE)
- cost per study place or graduate.

Figures like these are annually published by the National Board of Universities and Colleges (NBUC) both for full-degree programs and independent courses. These figures are broken down by university/college but also aggregated for different sectors of higher education (see for example, NBUC 1990).

Enrollment and performance indicators like the ones exemplified above have a limited information value as such, but should be used as points of departure for further analysis, when the pattern displays particularly low or otherwise deviant values. The statistics can also form the basis for further aggregations as in the recent report by Dahllöf (1989a) with respect to program length and regional localization matters (see also Dahllöf 1988). The brief remarks made here on the various indicators used as a basis for resource allocation and decision-making at the level of programs and departments should also be seen as a reflection of the general problems involved in the use of so-called performance indicators both as management tools and as brickstones for an evaluation. With respect to the management purpose a general reference should be made to several articles about

the pros and cons of higher education performance indicators in Dochy, Segers and Wijnen (1990). The problems of evaluation in a broader context will form the theme for the bi-annual conference of the programme, Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE) in Paris, September 5-8, 1990.

It should be particularly emphasized that there is often a great risk for conflicts between an evaluation aiming at a diagnosis as a basis for improvements and routine management procedures when the same set of performance indicators are used for both purposes (see Bormans *et al.* 1987).

Evaluation in the departmental perspective is much less developed in a systematic form, even though the department boards have for a number of years had to hand in an annual report to the faculty board of each university or college. That practice was in turn stimulated by a big project on innovation practices carried out in connection with the higher education reform (see Berg & Östergren 1977).

The combination of the running statistics outlined above and the annual reports from departments often form the basis for the changes in the resource allocation by faculty boards and/or the board of governors of a university or college. Sometimes more indepth studies are made as part of the R&D-activities at a local institution. At the university of Uppsala a number of such studies have been made based on the models described above with an emphasis on the teaching/learning processes in relation both to the input of student characteristics and administrative frames and to different out-put variables. (For further details, see Johansson 1989).

A peer-review evaluation scheme is presently under preparation at several universities as an extended use of more systematic self-assessment, as a basis for local decision-making, and for visits by external reviewers.

Although postgraduate studies and research, in principle, more readily lend themselves to a treatment on the national levels, it

should be emphasized that problems related to them also have been analyzed locally. Here only two examples are given. The one concerns the doctoral programs in the faculty of social sciences in Uppsala (Strömberg-Sölveborn 1983), the other the evaluation of the thematic doctors' programs that are unique for the University of Linköping (Brock *et al.* 1986).

The National Level

Two problem cases. The national level as treated here contains at least two types of problem:

(1) Comparisons between programs or sectors of education with respect to enrollments, passrates, costs etc., as a basis for the further allocation of national resources by the government and parliament.

(2) Comparisons of the Swedish system with those of other nations. In principle the same kinds of data as used in case (1) may be used but with addition of indices from other nations.

Sector and program comparisons. As a simple reminder of the risks for misleading comparisons when an appropriate evaluation analysis is lacking an old Swedish case should first be quoted: Many years ago the authorities started using aggregated statistics of examination rates and student flow for decision-making purposes, among other things accusing the faculties of arts and science to be too inefficient particularly in comparison with professional schools like those of medicine and engineering (SOU 1957:24; Kim 1966). However, in its general form it was proven to be a misleading conclusion (Dahllöf 1969) because of an unfortunate mix of statistics for young students aiming at a full-degree program and adults taking only a limited number of courses as part of a recurrent education pattern (see Dahllöf 1975, 1984 for a detailed discussion).

In general, Swedish authorities are for obvious reasons much more careful in handing and interpreting data related to efficiency or

effectiveness at the same time as it is an important task to follow-up the implementation of various reform efforts (see Bauer 1988).

As a typical example of the problematic relation between simple statistical indicators and more deep-going reform evaluation efforts taking the student enrollments by social background - and in the absence of radical changes (see Table 1) on the one hand, and the sociologists' evaluation of that aspect of the Swedish reform program on the other (e.g. Jonsson 1988a, 1988b).

Table 1 New enrollments by father's occupation 1977/78-84/85. Percent.

Year	Academics	White collar		Workers		Total
		Higher	Lower	Skilled	Non-skilled	
1977/78	13	20	30	14	23	100
1978/79	14	21	29	14	22	100
1979/80	15	20	29	14	22	100
1980/81	15	20	28	15	22	100
1981/82	16	20	28	15	21	100
1982/83	18	21	27	14	20	100
1983/84	18	21	27	14	20	100
1984/85	18	21	27	15	20	100
Cf population 1950-60	6	13	24	19	38	100

Source: SCB 1988, p. 110

As but one example of indicators related to enrollments, in Table 2 shows the differences *between* the full universities and the state colleges in their enrollments of students to various program sectors and also the relation between short cycle and full-degree programs *within* these two types of institutions. The intention here is not to explain but only to illustrate the use of enrollment statistics for evaluation purposes.

Table 2 Comparison between universities and state colleges with respect to new admissions to short-cycle and full-degree programs.

Sector/field	Universities Percent				State colleges Percent			
	Short	Full	Tot	N	Short	Full	Tot	N
1a Engineering	21	79	100	5517	94	6	100	1759
1b Math & Sci	-	100	100	1324	(-)	(100)	(100)	(66)
2 AES	6	94	100	7019	37	63	100	2380
3 Health care	29	71	100	1844	(100)	(-)	(100)	(20)
4 Teaching	59	41	100	5205	82	18	100	2412
5a Humanities	27	73	100	1194	76	24	100	443
5b Fine & performing arts	23	77	100	613	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	25	75	100	22716	69	31	100	7080

AES = sector for occupations in administration, economy and social service.

Source: Dahllöf 1989a, Table 2:8.

Similarly, Table 3 shows an example of comparisons between program sectors with respect to some effectivity and cost-indicators. Here the greatest variations are found between program sectors. With respect to costs per full-time student, "as usual", with the highest costs in the field of medicine and the lowest for social sciences and independent courses, most of which in turn are offered in the humanities and social sciences.

In this connection, it should also be mentioned that more systematic evaluations of independent courses, the experimental program with distance education (Willén 1981, 1983) and a special short-cycle program in the technical sector (Löfgren 1979) also contain a follow-up study of graduates (Löfgren 1982).

At the postgraduate level a series of national evaluation studies have been made at the department of psychology, Stockholm university (i.e. Ekehammar & Löfgren 1984). A typical example of a national research evaluation is a study of Swedish sociology (Allardt, Lysgaard and Böttger Sörensen 1987), in which scientists from other

Nordic countries participated. The National Science Research Council always uses an international panel, but in the soft sciences it is most often necessary to include reviewers who can read Swedish.

Table 3 Three indicators of the operational conditions within basic higher education. Filled places of all program offerings, credit earned of expected full-time equivalents (FTE) and per capita costs by program type and sector.

Program types	Filled places of all FTE		Credits earned/ expected FTE		Cost per FTE (1000 Kronor)	
	Total	Short	Total	Short	Total	Short
1 Techn. & science	88	87-80	90	86	37.9	31.4
2 AES	86	76	86	93	14.2	38.8
3 Health care	88	95	93		61.9	28.6
4 Teaching	84	86	93	91	42.4	29.3
5 Arts & information	84	93	90	102	46.0	54.0
Local programs	81		77		22.4	
Independent courses	92		57		11.2	

Source: NBUC 1988, p. 12.

Cross-national Comparisons

Besides the usual and not much informative statistics in Unesco- and OECD-publications only a few specific cases should be given attention here. In both cases a comparison had been made with countries that operate their systems of higher education under similar environmental, economic and social conditions. Such nations include the Nordic sister countries and also "fringe" areas in the Western world such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand (see Dahllöf 1988)

In the first case, a comparison was made with respect to professorships by faculty field in the Nordic countries and with regard to examinations of Ph.Ds and other doctoral degrees (Dahllöf 1989c).

The other case concerns the regional policies of localization of universities with postgraduate programs, where particularly Finland, has followed a more active policy line than Sweden (Dahllöf 1988).

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Comments: Evaluation of Higher Education in Sweden

Guy Neave

It is always a pleasure to be able to comment on a paper in which clarity of expression, parsimony of words and elegance of structure are brought together. But pleasure at the acquisition of new insights is often offset by the horrendous difficulty that any commentator faces namely how to avoid banality and how to forswear irrelevance. My comments will be of two kinds. First, musings that are inspired by certain details in Dahllöf's paper; second, vague meandering that may be derived from his contribution, in general, to the issue that evaluation poses for system's response and management.

To start with a general observation, it is a trend of growing significance that processes previously internal to academia are now being linked to the political or administrative systems as levers for policy steering. Student evaluation is quintessential of this development. The driving forces behind this, as Dahllöf points out, are the press to account to the public, whereas, in an earlier time, the type of accountability involved in student evaluation was largely internal - that is to say that individual students had to account to those teaching them and to the knowledge they imparted by showing that they, the students, had acquired the mastery of the concept, of best vocabulary, of the techniques and of the fashion of presentation and argumentation contained in a discipline. The criteria of what constitutes a discipline were largely determined by its practitioners

and the strength of that disciplinary identity largely controlled by those who added to it through research and, organizationally, through the departmental structure on the one hand, or by individual proponents, gathering like minded people around them, on the other. I am thinking here of the traditional German model based on the discipline as defined in the Ordinarien universität.

Prior to the mid seventies, such internal definition of discipline and thus of the modes of evaluation were, in many Western European countries partly offset by a duality in the nature of the diplomas studied. This duality is very similar to that distinction which Dahllöf draws between vertical and horizontal evaluation. It consisted - and still today largely consists, though the position is changing - in distinction drawn between National Degrees in France, Italy, and Grades Lègaux in Belgium and the various Staatsexamen subjects in the Federal Republic of Germany. In such diplomas, the public authority exercises varying degrees of control, either by stipulating minimal length of studies, of the content to be studied, the number of hours of study prior to silling in an external validated examination. Here, as a point of joyous confusion, one ought to point out that the functional equivalent in Britain is not exercised by the state so much as by various professional bodies. These professional bodies exercise a species of indirect control through specific examinations set by them - sometimes incorporated into higher education courses - usually in the non university sector - which confer the right to practice.

Whether vertical or horizontal, in both instances, whether State validated degrees or university awarded degree (diplomas universitaires, grades scientifiques to use French and Belgian terminology), the evaluation of the individual's claim to competence had few direct implications for the institution itself. It is, I think, important to bear in mind why this was so, not only because it gives us an insight into the rationale for the massive shift in using these same instruments from individual assessment to institutional evaluation, but also because the subtending theory - or ideological

assumption - that operated in our earlier universe had consequences of both a pedagogical and epistemological nature.

Classically, school leaving certificates, whether Baccalaureate, Abitur or more aptly named Maturità, - or Maturitè carried with them the notion that the individual not only held the requisite level of knowledge for admission to higher education, she or he also had a sufficient maturity of mind, and judgement to act in keeping with what Riesman has termed 'an inner gyroscope', self determination, self confidence, in short, personal autonomy and responsibility for his or her individual fate. Such assumptions left considerable choice to the students in combining different fields, in determining the length of one's own studies in German, Dutch and Danish universities and to a high degree of self preparation for the terminal examinations. In short, the autonomous individual controlled dimensions to the process of certification which today have been formalized and received organisational form. Put succinctly, quality control, save the final examination, was a matter for the mature individual, to decide when he would present for final examination and which areas he would study.

Certainly some systems, the British being one example, had a different underlying assumption about the student, his study and his evaluation. The very ancient term which summed up the relationship between the student and the teacher, now thankfully abolished - 'in loco parentis', assuming a lesser degree of maturity and correspondingly larger responsibility not merely for pedagogical achievement but also the public - and sometimes the private life of the individual. Hence insurmountable obstacles, chevaux de frise, high walls and private police which in Oxford and Cambridge ensured that young men did not entertain people in their rooms after certain hour nor stay out beyond it. Not that they were greatly efficient, but such symbols are powerful statements about institutional responsibility for personal development. This was held to be more personalised which determined the peculiar forms which traditionally distinguished the British university from its continental

counterparts, i.e. small group work, a high staff student ratio, tutorials etc. And frankly there is considerable difficulty in adapting to mass higher education.

Why should this have changed? Several factors contributed to this. First, the belief, shared amongst many higher education systems of the late 60s and early 70s that students were less well prepared for the personal autonomy explicit in student's life. One response to this was the development of that branch of higher education called Hochschuldidatik which took as its departure, just as in secondary schools at the same time, that the subject discipline could no longer be the constant, rather the student was the constant and the subject adapted according to a greater diversity of motivation, interest and capacity. Similarly, one sees a long term drive towards implanting in higher education guidance and counselling services as part of the gradual organisational take over of functions, previously the responsibility of the individual. Second, the profileration of courses and the emergence of new diplomas, that process which Williams has termed as "vocationalisation of higher education" of which the Swedish reform of 1977 is particularly a good example. Third, the increasing cost pressure which, over the past 15 years, has been the case in most Western European systems calls for a shortening of study time - above all in those countries where this still is the responsibility of the individual. We see the Dutch reducing this in 1984 in the Two Phase Law, I am reliably told the Danes are similarly inclined and the Spanish have already gone down that road.

From the standpoint of the individual students we see a gradual institutionalisation of those functions hitherto constituting proof of his inner gyroscopic capacities. What a horrid phrase! Doubtless if he had been interested in higher education, Illich would have had something to say about this. At the same time, we also see two developments in the relationship between higher education and government, publicly presented as intended to increase "quality" and "efficiency".

The first of these, and one sees it just as well in Sweden as elsewhere, indeed it probably began here earlier with the development of regional boards in higher education, is the strengthening of the external frame around higher education. This process is primarily budgetary but has expanded into other fields, not least of which evaluation systems. The second process, which some of us have been investigating from a comparative perspective, is how far has central state, in fact, withdrawn its control over institutions and how far has their autonomy increased? Now evaluation of individuals as an item in evaluating the performance of the institutions is an essential part of what is publicly presented as a redefinition of functions between the institutional and the system's steering level. And it is at this point that evaluation of individuals is transformed from being an instrument for the assessment of knowledge and becomes one of the expanding instrumentality in the management of higher education.

Now the legend of the withdrawal of the state has it that a system of higher education on the one hand, and changes in the labor market on the other, have become so complex that they can no longer be the subject of detailed oversight by central administration. In short, the detailed control and planning that underpinned the development of mass higher education in Western Europe, has become dysfunctional. Rather the central state should simply set the general objectives and framework and leave individual institutions to find out as best as they can, those individual strategies to attain such general goals. For them to attain this, they need greater latitude in planning their response to the national and the regional labour market, to student demand, to the pressures from that ideological construct 'the market', liberty to assign financial and human resources rapidly to new targets and finally to have the ability to undertake on their own behalf, strategic planning.

But how is the state to ensure that what government proposes, the institute in effect disposes? We are all aware of the growing evidence from implementation studies that, in the words of March

and Olsen "Anything that ought to be done is not done and anything that ought not to be done, takes place". The key to this is institutional evaluation. But here we come across a very delicate problem, namely, who is to set the criteria of performance? Are they to be determined in a lop down fashion? Are they to be elaborated by individual institutions in function to their perceived strategy in response to the overall frame, i.e. a bottom up approach? What are the consequences of failure to live up to our modern versions of Stakhanovite norms? Is institutional performance and the liberty to decide what shall be performed, how, and by whom, accompanied by a reward system? Or is it accompanied by a sanction system? Who is to evaluate institutional performance? The institutions themselves? Roving delegate bodies drawn from peers inside and outside the country? By intermediary bodies specially set up for the purpose at national level? By a species, as is the case in the Netherlands, of exalted inspectorate?

All these are very important issues. Not because they determine the nature of the evaluation, but because they are substitute means to ensuring compliance with national objectives. They raise the question of what is the substance of institutional autonomy and the reality of what I have recently termed "state divestiture of functions". Or is it another version of Henry Ford's dictum applied to autonomy, i.e. they may have any colour they wish provided it is black. They may have any autonomy they wish provided national norms are fulfilled. Evaluation, as Dahllöf's paper has made clear in the Swedish context, is today, perhaps the key question, for depending on how it works and is made to work will prove whether the state divestiture of functions is a reality or a charade.

Comments: Evaluation of Higher Education in Sweden

Vinayagum Chinapah

Reading and commenting on Professor Dahllöf's paper has been a valuable learning experience to me. The author provides us with a systematic analysis of the nature, scope and implications of higher education in Sweden. I would also like to mention that the comments by Guy Neave on this paper simplify my task and provide me the opportunity to focus on some additional aspects of the evaluation of higher education in Sweden.

My reading of the various publications by Dahllöf on this topic together with his excellent presentation at the Seminar convinced me that I need to subscribe to two caveats while making my comments on his paper. First of all, this paper has to be regarded as merely an excursion over the author's extensive and valuable experience in educational evaluation. Second, it is clear that the scope of this paper does not allow the author to treat in greater detail all the evaluation issues presented. I shall therefore, attempt to highlight some of the major concerns in evaluation of higher education in Sweden with the intention of extending the discussion on the complexity of evaluation of an intricate system of education.

The paper addresses some pertinent evaluation questions. Evaluation - Why, When, How, and In Whose Benefit? Three major educational evaluation venues at institutions of higher learning

in Sweden were presented, namely: (1) the examination of individual students; (2) the assessment of study programs; and (3) the evaluation of the whole system of higher education. All three are conventional ones as the author argues. But are they substantial enough to address the specific characteristics of the Swedish Higher Education System? In answering these questions, the author focuses upon the organizational, methodological and pragmatic issues of educational evaluation with regard to institutions of higher learning in Sweden. Due to the rather specific characteristics of the Swedish Higher Education System, there is a need to reconsider the relevance and shortcomings of conventional educational evaluation practices. Below, comments are provided on the major evaluation practices at institutes of higher learning in Sweden.

The Evaluation of Individual Students

Many issues are to be addressed before arriving at a comprehensive model for evaluation of higher education in Sweden. First, while evaluating the system of higher education in Sweden, specific considerations are to be given to the heterogenous character of student population. The heterogenous character of the student population at institutions of higher learning in Sweden deserves special evaluation considerations, as a result of rapid expansion of the system of recurrent education leading to a significant proportion of "mature students", i.e. those over 25 years of age with at least 4 years of working experience amongst students at institutions of higher learning in the country. Having in one and in the same cohort of a study-program students with different background and experience, any evaluation system chosen would encounter serious difficulties in matching individual skills, aptitudes, and attitudes at the entry point with those attained at the exit point of the program.

Second, evaluation should be regarded as a continuous process building upon the achievements and difficulties of individual students during the course of, and between, entry and exit points of higher

education. The importance of a built-in system of evaluation needs to be emphasized. Many of the Swedish goals of higher education are different from other countries. They are also specific to Sweden at this point in time. These must be treated as specific themes to be evaluated and assessed according to the stated objectives. Ideally, they should be evaluated in a "formative" manner and monitored through their development. However, considering the time frames of given objectives, it should also be possible to assess them in a "summative" evaluation.

Third, evaluation does not simply end with student's examination. It should serve as an intermediate process for selection and recruitment to the labor market. In addition, re-entrants to institutes of higher learning together with the general practice of recurrent education call for evaluation techniques that can measure the skills, competencies and attitudes needed in a constantly changing labor market situation.

The Assessment of Study Programs

Dahllöf's paper describes some of the major characteristics of study programs at institutions of higher learning in Sweden in order to illustrate various kinds of evaluation studies. Besides the heterogenous character of the student population mentioned above, the complexity of the Swedish system of higher education is further manifested in the organization and structure of study-programs. Dahllöf proposes on the one hand both horizontal and vertical evaluation studies as portrayed in Figures 1 and 2 respectively, and on the other hand, internal and external evaluation studies. He then summarizes in a holistic model these four kinds of evaluation (Figure 3) to ascertain their specific and complementary functions.

Nevertheless, the paper simply ends there with a critique of Swedish evaluation practices where most of the emphasis is given to quantitative performance indicators. But, there appears to be a need

to maintain and to enhance this annually updated information base. This should be especially important in the face of further decentralization which will complicate the evaluation of increasingly independent bodies. One would also expect at this point to have some suggestions on how qualitative evaluation approaches could be properly used. For example, student's affective domain and between-student analysis using qualitative evaluation technique can be of interest to program planners, administrators and managers and can provide the necessary feed-back to peer-review evaluation. A further are that might be considered concerns efficiency studies? This is a big question area now as costs go up in this increasingly tight economic milieu. Case study technique can also be utilized as a qualitative method? Here, such a methodological approach could be utilized to examine departments and institutions that are succeeding and are accomplishing high outputs with low inputs. The answers to how these departments and institutions succeed should prove valuable in steering further development in higher education in Sweden.

Nonetheless, the differences among university affiliated departments and institutions in Sweden are as heterogenous as the diverse make-up of the students that attend and participate in them.

I am of the opinion that it is not enough to design appropriate evaluation modalities at higher education without an appropriate study of the structure of incentives for different actors and participants in the study-program. Technocratic and academic-oriented evaluation strategies serve only a limited number of evaluation purposes. If not evaluation, in the generic sense of the word, one may recall then to program monitoring where continuous feedback can be ensured to respond to the needs of these actors and participants. Incentives play a pivotal role in enhancing the quality and effectiveness of such programs. These incentives should open the gate to program-efficiency assessed in terms of management style, teaching effectiveness, students' performance, and program's cost-effectiveness.

The Evaluation of the Whole System of Education

In his paper, the author briefly examines how the whole system of higher education in Sweden is being evaluated. Evaluation of the whole system is conducted in two principal ways: (1) comparing study-programs or sectors of education using different performance indicators in order to allocate national resources; and (2) comparing the Swedish system of higher education with those of other nations. The paper provides some examples where both types of comparisons are made.

The international information base of general statistics is difficult to interpret due to the extensive variances in the forms, structures and guidelines of higher education in different countries. Because of these differences, external evaluations and comparative studies will always be hindered. Nonetheless, stirred by the changing political milieu and the increasingly interdependent nature of the economy, it can be expected that the higher education systems among countries will streamline and assimilate themselves to a greater extent to facilitate the changes we are witnessing. This need is felt in Sweden and is expressed through the current debate on examination at institutes of higher learning in Sweden, with a view to ensuring a comparative standard as in other European countries.

Coming back to our remarks earlier on the importance of qualitative performance indicators, we can observe that in these types of comparisons, no efforts are made to ascertain what goes on between program administrators and program implementors, what types of interaction are conducive to the teaching-learning process to optimize outputs and quality, and so on. Maybe it is premature to expect so much from evaluation in the absence of such comparative performance indicators.

This paper clearly shows that evaluation of higher education has a long route to make. There is a need for a greater concerted effort among policy-makers, program administrators and implementors and program beneficiaries to have a second look at what evaluation can and should do to bring about optimal results at institutions of higher learning in Sweden, and elsewhere. In this context, possessing better evaluation techniques is not enough. The incentive system needs to be re-appraised. The quality of the information generated as well as its use should be assessed on a continuous basis.

Part Two

Higher Education in Eastern Europe: Recent Appraisals

Assessment and Problems of Higher Education in the Light of Changing Bulgaria

Christo Christov

A process of renovation is occurring in Eastern Europe. Changes are happening in social, economic and political life in Bulgaria:

- decline of the bureaucratic system of administration
- partial privatization of the property
- transition from centralized planned economy to market economy
- rapid democratic changes of society
- separation of ideology from social life

In addition to these social, economic and political changes, common human values have become a priority. Modern technologies continue to be introduced in production despite the economic crises in Bulgaria. Bulgaria is opening to the world, and the world is opening to her. In this new situation we try to assess and evaluate our higher education - to look for new directions for development.

First

There are 31 institutes of higher learning and 44 colleges in Bulgaria with more than 140,000 Bulgarian and 10,000 foreign students. The course of education is 4,5-6 years in the higher institutes and 2-3 years in the colleges.

So far the state has guaranteed a job to all graduates. The education is free. The material base is inadequate, accommodating not more than 30,000 students, annually. The educational structure does not correspond to the requirements of the students. It was necessary for the centrally-planned admissions system to become stricter, reducing the number of admitted students. Problems remained despite the changed admissions procedure. The supply of graduates with some degrees exceeded the demand while there were shortages of specialists in other fields. This misallocation forced us to undertake training directed to the needs of the firms and organizations which employ graduates of the higher education system.

The first problem for Bulgarian higher education is to plan university admissions under new economic conditions. The state no longer guarantees employment for everybody; unemployment appears to be increasing; the movement of people, goods and ideas is free; and some graduates seek employment abroad.

Second

The training of students in Bulgaria follows a three-stage vertical structure. The students are admitted to specialized professional fields. During the first two years the students of a given specialty follow a common study plan/curricula. The next two years the students follow specialized curricula. This course of study was approved by the state, and the curricula was approved by the Ministry of Education. During the final stage of education the students specialize according to the first place they are going to work. Recent graduates have had low social status. Their labor and skills have not been used effectively. The reason is that employers are, because of state intervention, encouraged to hire more skilled employees than necessary. The curricula are ideologically influenced. Education emphasizes theoretical knowledge rather than practical application and decision making. All students in a given specialty study at an equal level.

The next problems for Bulgarian higher education are, to deal with: the horizontal structure of the specialties, the vertical diversification of the higher education system, the freedom of personal choice of the contents, duration and place of education, the creation of incentives for the achievement of higher professional qualification, and the conditions of a market economy.

Third

Planning, management, motivation and development of scientific research and teaching at the higher institutes are important issues.

There has not been enough encouragement of individual work with the students. The social status of scientific researchers is low, thus creative activities are not encouraged. The third problem for Bulgarian higher education is: to create conditions for advanced development of the scientists at the higher institutes in accordance with their free choice while valuing and stimulating their creative potential.

Fourth

The material base, despite progress made during the 1970s, is lower than the real necessity. The majority of the active funds are morally backward and physically exhausted. For many years the totalitarian system of administration in Bulgaria was an obstacle to the development of higher education. The fourth problem is to acquire the means for the training of specialists facing changing priorities defined by the supply and demand of the intellectual market. This development should be accommodated in the market economy, taking into consideration the lack of long-term plans and priorities of social and economic development. The network and structure of higher educational institutes must be modernized.

The new conditions in Bulgaria create many problems in addition to those discussed above. Among the important issues are: the effective use of the scientific potential at the higher institutes, the development of democratic relations at the higher institutes and the

development of the higher institutes as complex scientific and educational centers.

The following recommendations are made:

1. Institutes of higher education should have legal autonomy to make decisions about curricula, subjects, admissions, employment and internal structure.
2. Competition among students and lecturers should be introduced where possible and worthwhile. The state should govern higher education by economic mechanisms and normative aids rather than administrative acts. The state should act both as a partner and an opponent.
3. The curricula should be separated from ideology. The students should have the right of free choice. A gradual transition to a wide variety of specialties, without the structure of different levels of education and with a wide range of free choice, is being implemented. Two more levels of qualification above higher education are being introduced. The aim is to achieve a pyramidal structure in which the students reach the level corresponding to their abilities.
4. The state should no longer guarantee employment for graduates. The goal is to create a competitive labor market. This would create new incentives for students.

There are many problems to solve in a changing Bulgaria. These problems are similar to the problems of higher education in the other countries of Eastern Europe. A new society is on the threshold. A high level of intellectual resources is necessary to modernize society. The intellectual resources are developed at the universities. The specialists that will educate the new generation, that will build and live in the new society, are trained at the institutes of higher education.

The Reform of the Management, Organization and Administration of Higher Education in Germany*

Volker Deregowski

Germany (the then German Democratic Republic- GDR) has, as have other states of Eastern Europe, begun fundamental political, economic, intellectual, cultural and social changes. The changes are aimed at democratizing all spheres of social life. Education and science fulfill at least two different functions in these processes: the intellectual potential of the country is indispensable for reformation and democratization, and education and science themselves are the subject of necessary changes.

The changes which must be carried out in the fields of education and science are, as in other spheres, of profound and fundamental nature. A great number of measures must rapidly be applied to higher education. First, it is necessary to do away with the bureaucratic and centralist system of state management of university-level institutions, to recognize their relative autonomy and accept their competence for self-administration. In the future we must take into close consideration the types, the scientific profiles, the sizes and the traditions of university-level institutions when considering issues of organization and administration.

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* We retain the name Germany (GDR), in this paper as it was presented at the at the Unesco Seminar, May 21-23, 1990.

It is necessary to create new concepts of content and organization. This will allow the institutions of higher education, decision-makers at governmental level and those interested in the development of education and research at university-level institutions to conduct fruitful cooperation. We need to establish a law of higher education, namely that the development of education and research is in the interest of society, to ensures common ground and consensus. At the same time, we need to guarantee that the university-level institutions have an adequate degree of autonomy. The assertion of this autonomy must be ensured by managerial and decision-making bodies which are democratically legitimized through the participation of all the groups of the academic community.

The stated objective of the government de Maizière is to re-establish the freedom of teaching and research as was declared in the first Constitution Germany (GDR) which was valid to 1968. It will also be the task of the state to establish legal regulations concerning education and science and to ensure the financial support of higher education including full finance of fundamental research. It is desirable that the economy be committed to the promotion of research.

During the decentralization of state power the laender, as they existed prior to 1952, will be re-established in Germany (GDR). Educational policy will also be decentralized and federalized. The federal organization of higher education, in particular, may be based on the federal system of the period between 1945 and 1952. The establishment of a German economy, currency and social union must also be taken into consideration. We must examine to what extent an adjustment of legal regulations concerning university-level education is both possible and necessary. What has been achieved in the reform of the management of higher education in Germany (GDR)? To begin with, three things should be stated.

First: As a result of the rapid disintegration of the old political and administrative system, a legal vacuum has emerged. Institutions of higher education strive to set up democratic decision-making structures and bodies yet face conflicts with the existing legislation

and administrative regulations. New legal regulations concerning the organization and administration of university-level institutions and university-level education have not yet been established.

Second: The political parties in Germany (GDR), university-level institutions and research institutions on education have developed suggestions: on the reform of the content of higher education and organization of teaching, on the access to the university, on studies and examinations, and on the management, administration and organization of higher education. One of the research institutions on education actively involved in this type of work is the Central Institute for Higher Education in East Berlin. Opinions have been voiced on a great number of problems, and working papers have been presented, however in my view, it is too early to speak of a uniform concept of education and university reform. In this paper it is not possible to give an overall view of the opinions, concepts, objectives and activities of educational reform. It is, however, possible to expound a personal view and to present trends as known to the author.

Third: The future unity of Germany (GDR) and its effects on the organization of university-level education must be considered. The call for adopting the regulations of the Federal Republic of Germany is quite strong, but prudent politicians in the field of university-level education in East and West undoubtedly want to preserve some aspects of the university-level education system of Germany (GDR) and to incorporate them in a common system of university-level education.

I would like to make a few remarks on the shaping of federalism from the viewpoint of higher education and the changes in management, statutes and administration of university-level education.

On Federalism in Education

It appears that from January 1, 1990, independent laender will exist in the Germany (GDR) for the first time since 1952. The laender will have the autonomy to decide on all issues of education.

There are presently 54 university-level institutions in the Germany (GDR) (excluding military academies). Fourty-one are still under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Science. In the future the 54 institutions will be distributed among the laender (including East Berlin) as follows: Bradenburg (4); Mecklenburg (5); Saxony-Anhalt(10); Saxony (22); Thuringia (6); and East Berlin (7).

Autonomy at the level of the laender is a decisive turning point in university-level education. Since before 1952, a central ministry has been responsible for the planning and management of most university-level institutions. It is expected that the existing regional administration of primary and secondary education will be extended to include administration of higher education. The central Ministry of Education and Science would thus retain tasks such as:

1) coordination of central state interests in education and scientific research;
2) promotion of new university-level institutions and expansion of the existing institutions;
3) legislation, made in cooperation with the laender, concerning university-level education;
4) planning of education and research on education;
5) cooperation with scientific organizations in defining national research interests;
6) formulation of guidelines for the statistics concerning university-level education and for the protection of institutions against infringement of their rights; and
7) international cooperation.

Up to now central state regulations and administrative rules have exclusively governed the management, administration and organization of university-level institutions. Self-administration has been limited. It is now necessary to pass new laws and decrees. A skeleton law concerning university-level education, which is intended to serve as a basis for the legislation of university-level education of

the laender and to ensure consensus in university-level education, is being drafted. The skeleton law of Germany (GDR) will be similar to the laws of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Work on the establishment of federal structures is starting. There is political controversy about the steps to be taken and the exact borders of the laender. Professor Meyer, Minister of Education and Science of the Germany (GDR), has said that he does not want to work with new laws for the time being, but with ministerial decrees. He has suggested that the present-day integrated legislation on education, which is valid for all educational levels, should be replaced by individual laws for each level.

I will now discuss the reformation of the management of university-level education and its resources. Large scale personnel changes in the top management of the university-level institutions, in the departments and in the fundamental scientific units followed the political changes in the GDR. For the first time since the Third University Reform, in 1968, representatives of the university-level institutions have been democratically elected. At some institutions the rectors have the confidence of the academic community. All members of the academic community, however, did not have an equal say in the elections.

The participation of the former SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) in all governing bodies of the university-level institutions has been abolished. The role of the former integrated youth organization FDJ (Free German Youth), has been reduced to insignificance, though in the past its real influence had been over-rated.

The institutions have begun to elaborate statutes which are intended to regulate university-level work and organization. These statutes are to replace the existing statutes of little substance. At most universities the discussions of drafts of these statutes are under way. The passage of the first statutes cannot be expected before October, 1990. General characteristics of the statutes are:

1) that they envisage diverse forms for democratic participation of all members of the academic community in decision-making and in the management of the university-level institutions;
2) that elections are the best instrument for democratic development of objectives and for the selection of suitable candidates for management and participation in collegial bodies;
3) that competent scientific bodies, such as councils and academic senates, will be re-established or that the existing bodies will be strengthened;
4) that self-administration will be strengthened and extended to ensure far-reaching autonomy of university-level institutions;
5) that university-level institutions be, in principle, run by scientists; and
6) that there will be a greater variety of organizational forms for education, research and administration in line with traditions and interests.

The department will no longer be the favored organizational form of fundamental scientific units. A number of university-level institutions will again set up faculties which will be subdivided into institutes, colleges (divisions) and chairs. The term 'special field,' which is common in the Federal Republic of Germany, will be used. The faculty is not considered the primary unit of teaching and research at universities in other nations. Rather, the faculty is considered a comprehensive body of scientific coordination and communication to which certain decision-making powers are reserved.

It is not yet possible to confirm development trends in the organization of university-level education. There are too many things still under discussion, and even in a small country like Germany (GDR) it is difficult to assess the varied solutions suggested by the university-level institutions.

In my view the following seem to be obvious:

1) There are discrepancies between senior academics and students as to whether the group university or the university of full professors should become the basic model of a university-level institution. The distribution of seats and votes in the central decision-making bodies is particularly disputed. The central decision-making bodies include the academic senate and the council which elects the management and confirms the statutes. One of the concerns of students is, inter alia, the interest of the minority with regard to issues related to their studies and their social standing at the university-level institutions. A frequent unfounded fear of senior academics is that the participation of too many groups, lacking adequate professional competency, could be harmful to the reputation of the university-level institutions. There is a considerable misunderstanding in this respect, yet it should be possible to clear this up.
2) The academic senates will regain their traditional position as decision-making collegial bodies. This is common in university-level education systems in other nations. The rector, in his capacity as head of the university-level institution, will be bound by the decisions of the senate. In addition, the rector is in charge of regular administrative work. Most of the university-level institutions envisage prorectors to assist the rector. The prorectors' functions and tasks are not completely defined. The post of a full-time first deputy rector (first prorector) is, as a rule, no longer envisaged.
3) University-level institutions no longer regard themselves exclusively as institutions of the state, but also as public corporations with the right to self-administration within the legal framework.
4) I have mentioned that the state and the laender will continue to ensure the allocation of basic funds to university-

level institutions. It would be conceivable that the model of research promotion of the Federal Republic of Germany will be taken over by Germany (GDR). In this context, there already exist contacts between university-level institutions and with organizations of research and promotion.

5) The administration of university-level education should integrate academic self-administration and the administration of state affairs. Chancellors should be the heads of administration. Their work should follow the instructions and guidelines of the rectors. The study of medicine should continue to exist at the universities, maintaining relative independence, including administration.

6) Groups within the academic community (senior academics, students, members of academic staff, other staff members), in accordance with the statutes of university-level institutions, are at present organizing at the university and the national levels. This process has made headway among students who are represented both at their institutions and at a nationwide council of spokespersons. Difficulties have arisen in the trade union representation of staff members. A law on the representation of the staff is in preparation.

The societal changes in Germany (GDR) include changes in the system of higher education. There are: new conditions of access to university-level education, changes in the contents of education and teaching, changes in the organization of studies, and changes in the management, administration and organization of university-level institutions and the educational system as a whole. These changes are influenced by traditions and the experiences of others nations, above all of European ones. In particular the experiences of the Federal Republic of Germany are influential. It is also important to look to the experiences in Germany (GDR), to search for features worth preserving.

The processes of changes are not yet complete. They have just started. It is therefore, difficult to give more detailed descriptions of the changes at this time. Detailed descriptions will be made later.

Higher Education in the USSR the Stage of Cardinal Transformations

Valery N. Afanassiev

Changes taking place in the world and the reorganization of economic and political structures of our country make the reform of higher education one of the priorities in the nationwide strategy of development of the USSR.

The necessity for reform has been confirmed at the All-Union meeting of rectors of higher education institutions with the USSR President M.S. Gorbatchev (May, 1990) and in Government commissions on the development of the State program of reform of higher education. The main requisites of the program are:

The wide-planetary requisite. The future of humankind depends on the development of culture, science and technology. The formation and implementation of principles of global community are vital. It is a unique way to solve the problems of ecology and war.

The progress of science and technology. The strategy of social and economic development based on scientific and technological progress requires the development of intellectual potential. This involves increases in the number and quality of specialists graduating from the higher education institutions. Without a constant accumulation of knowledge potential it is impossible to secure the quality of life. Increases in the knowledge of labor productivity and the management of scientific and technological progress are needed.

This is because technology alone is not capable of increasing productivity and developing products. Labour intensification is closely related to the intellectual and cultural levels. The level of society's intellectual potential is a major factor in the production of new knowledge, and the rapid assimilation of innovations.

The loss of the priority of knowledge. The character of the economy of the USSR resulted in deterioration of the specialists' basic functions. The specialists should be a key element and motivating force for cultural, social, scientific and technological progress. Furthermore, centralized planning of the specialist's training was negatively influenced by "powerful" departments and personalities. Centralized planning thus resulted in serious deformations in the professional structure of training for specialists and in the creation of institutes and universities. Distortion of real demands of society and industry for highly educated people was the price of centralized planning.

The pragmatism of goals. Higher education is oriented to the satisfaction of national economic requirements. The resulting policy leads to increasing the number of specialties. This pragmatism in meeting the immediate demands of the economy leads to the deterioration of fundamental and cultural preparation of the specialists.

The systematic distribution. The motivation for obtaining better education was neither stimulated nor supported by economic mechanisms. Poor quality of training produced poorly trained professionals. The result was that newly graduated specialists were deprived of the joy of labour, without which professional growth is impossible.

The lack of interest for training. Students and teachers lack motivation for team-work. "The struggle to improve the quality of training of the specialists" on the part of administration and teaching staff leads to nothing but administrative methods of teaching. As a result, many students feel helpless to change anything at the higher education institutions. In some cases this results in bitterness as a consequence of the impossibility to realize one's potential.

There has been a six-fold increase in the number of students since 1940. To a considerable extent the increase was due to enrolment in different forms of in-service training, i.e. training that allows the student to continue to work. In-service training has contributed to the transformation of higher education institutions from intellectual establishments into social ones. The consequences were the deterioration of education standards and the decrease of the training of specialists in all of the educational fields.

Education of women. Higher education in the fields of engineering and technology is frequently offered to women. However, the skills of highly educated women are often not recognized at the work place.

The cardinal changes in higher education are a result of political and economic transformations taking place in our society. The changes must correspond to the ideas of the country's reconstruction. The basic principles for reformation of the national policy in the field of higher education are the following:

Autonomy. Institutes of higher education must be morally and intellectually independent of immediate political and economic pressures. The institutions must be open to dialogue and must serve as ideal "platforms" for teaching and learning. Freedom of study and research is a basic principle of academic life. This principle must be applied to all members of the university community. Taking into account the specific context, each higher education institution must guarantee academic freedom to its students and create the necessary conditions for cultural assimilation and training according to the students' individual aims.

Teaching and research. Teaching and research activities must be inseparable, so that education can keep pace with the changing demands of the society.

The perspectives and purposes of higher education must be related to the *problems of humanism.* It is important to consider humanistic, cultural, and international aspects of education, while

aiming for the consolidation of international understanding, co-operation, peace, human rights and the conservation and enrichment of national cultures. Higher education develops the potential capabilities of the individual, participates in the recognition of human values and maintains and strengthens human rights.

The growing role of new technologies in the work place motivates a revision of the existing relations between engineering schools and industry. New relationships between higher engineering education and industry should include co-operation among industries and higher education institutions. This co-operation must include legislated guidelines for the economic interaction between industry and education. There should be specific mechanisms for expense sharing and for the assignment of national education and production priorities.

Under the new principles of higher education planning it is important to maintain a dynamic equilibrium between supply of and demand for education and to raise the quality of education. Thus, the new principles of educational planning should emphasize qualitative rather than quantitative aspects of data on education.

Meeting the real demands of the labor market requires substantial changes in the structure of specialties (the present professional structure includes about 300 different specialties) and the contents of training.

The changes in higher education must be based on the principle of diversification. Higher education should be widely accessible without losing its quality. This requires giving up the one-dimensional structure of higher education which presupposes a uniform five-year training, one type of diploma and a single set of specialties. Further, the extension of academic freedoms must be combined with a mechanism to maintain appropriate standards of higher education corresponding to national and world levels. This requires the development of an appropriate mechanism of diagnostics.

To conclude, I shall include a list of major paradigms of higher education (old and new) serving as an excursion over the development of higher education in the Soviet Union (see Table 1).

Table 1 Major Paradigms of Higher Education

Traditional System	New System
1. Education is "terminal" and takes a small period of man's life, stages of education are rigidly separated one from another.	1. Education is continuous and secures a man's development all along his life. Educational stages are successive and gifted for integration.
2. Higher education serves a purpose of satisfying the national economic demands for cadres and specialists, and gives to the person means of social achievements.	2. Higher education represents an independent value for society as a guarantee of it democratic development, as a means for reproduction of its culture and intellectualization. Higher education is a sphere of all-round development of personality including the acquisition of professional training.
3. Higher education involves a minority of youth, in strict accordance with the society's demands for specialists.	3. Higher education involves all those who wish and are able to receive it, in accordance with the society's possible demands. Professional training of the individual is in correlation with his desire and public needs.
4. Higher education realizes a social function through privileges in accessibility, granted to specific classes and social groups.	4. Higher education realizes a social function by securing the equality of opportunities for the all-round development of everybody.
5. The type of teaching is information-reproduction. The student's knowledge of the totality of subjects is a final result and unique criteria of evaluation.	5. The type of teaching is based in active participation, creative and productive thinking. The result is a capacity building for acquiring knowledge, for independent movement on to further education and development.
6. The student is an object of training and education. The ratio of lectures and individual studies is 2:1. The form of organization is individual and group studies.	6. The student is an active partner in the educational process. Individual studies make up more than 50% of the total time of studies. The form of organization is group and individual studies.
7. The achievements of science, technology and culture must be reflected in the teaching process at higher education institutions.	7. The training in higher education should be built on the principle of unification of scientific and teaching processes. The student must work in scientific and creative bodies during the period of study.
8. The individual who received education as a full-time student must work during a fixed period in accordance with official distribution.	8. The student has the right to choose a place of work. The guarantee of employment is ensured through a system of contracts.

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